'Turkish/Kurdish' youth in North London ethnic identifications

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‘TURKISH/KURDISH’ YOUTH in NORTH LONDON: ETHNIC IDENTIFICATIONS

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the PhD Degree at Kings College London

April 2016

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Roxy Harris, for his constant support and encouragement that motivated me to work hard and complete this tough marathon. His intellectual guidance helped me to find my way through the complex theoretical concepts and social formations and to put my arguments in an orderly way. In every supervision meeting, he gave me the confidence that I was a step closer to the finishing line. It is impossible for me to express my feelings of gratitude towards him with a few words here, but I want to say that I am greatly indebted to him for his help.

This thesis would have never been completed without the young people of Turkish and Kurdish descent, who took me into their lives, shared their special moments and secrets with me and cooperated with me throughout the research process. I owe you a very special thank you for your invaluable contributions to this research and for changing my perspective on social phenomena.

I want to extend my sincere thanks to my PhD colleagues at King's College, Farhana, Debbie, Ayşe, Talat, Samar, Mustafa, Serkan, Kelvin, Nuha, Giota, Maria and many others, the only people in the world who truly understood the challenges, stress and mental pressure that I have gone through throughout these recent years. The academic discussions with you as well as your advice on how to deal with work-related and personal problems will always be appreciated. The parties, coffee breaks, dinners, lunches and weekend activities we had together will remain unforgettable memories all of my life.

My mother and sister, who prayed for me and supported me every step of the way, have been a constant source of encouragement. In particular, my mum's strong character and will-power to cope with obstacles in life has always been inspirational. During difficult times, your example has reminded of me that anything can be achieved with hard work and optimism. There are not enough words to describe how grateful I am to have you in my life.

Finally, I would like express my heartfelt thanks to my husband, Kashif, for being with me on my good and bad days and making me believe that I can overcome all the difficulties in life. I would not have coped with the sleepless nights, stressful periods and mood swings throughout the process without his wise suggestions and positive and constructive attitude towards life. I cannot thank you enough for always being there for me.

Abstract

Focussing on a group of adolescents of Turkish and Kurdish descent in a North London secondary school, this thesis shows the ways in which ethnicities are experienced and indirectly signalled through everyday language behaviour and popular cultural engagements in superdiverse London. Data was collected on the adolescents' ordinary social interactions in and around the vicinity of their school for about one year (May 2013 - June 2014), using ethnographic participant observation, informal interviews and retrospective interviews with 13 focal participants. Extensive audio-recording of their naturally occurring speech and interactions were made and substantial fieldnotes were written. The thesis draws on Stuart Hall's (1988, 1996) theorisation of 'new ethnicities'. It also draws on flexible perspectives relating to youth language practices – Hewitt's (1992, 2003) 'local multi-ethnic vernacular', Rampton's (1995a) 'crossing' and Blommaert and Backus' (2011) 'linguistic repertoires'. This thesis examines how mundane practices and behaviour are linked to the young people's ethnic affiliations. The research shows that the ethnic attachments of young Londoners of Turkish and Kurdish descent cannot be studied within the boundaries of the singular and static concept of 'Turkish Speaking Community' or with a narrow formulation of ethnicity within London's superdiversity. It is argued that one way of developing a deep understanding of how ethnicities are implicitly indicated, explicitly expressed and lived out, is to pay attention to actual language and popular cultural practices in the everyday. A close analysis of the adolescents' routine speech patterns reveals their ambivalent, dynamic and multi-faceted identifications with a working-class-inflected Londonness, Kurdishness and Turkishness in contemporary North London.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE TURKISH QUESTION

1.0 Introduction

In 2009, I arrived in London from Turkey for my MA studies and began to live with a group of people from Turkey. My acquaintance with these people opened my way to meeting many families as well as young people with ties to Turkey. The way these adolescents spoke and behaved during our interactions aroused my curiosity to understand what social meanings the languages and cultures with which they engaged on a daily basis carried for them. As a person born and brought up in a small city in western Turkey, which had sent thousands of migrant workers to Europe, I was well aware of the stereotypical portrayal of diasporic subjects in Turkey as becoming Germanised or Anglicised and losing their Turkishness (see also Kaya and Kentel, 2005). After my arrival in London, I found out that a similarly narrow approach to the ethnicities of these subjects was also perpetuated in the UK context through the widespread use of the label 'Turkish Speaking Community'; a monolithic designation used for migrants from Turkey and Northern Cyprus as well as their descendants, regardless of their multiple linguistic and ethnic affiliations. I was curious to discover how young Londoners would respond to such stereotypes about themselves and describe their actual connections with Turkey. For my MA research, I interviewed several young people who classified themselves as 'Turkish' in London. Not especially deep, but nevertheless eye-opening, these interview findings demonstrated that the issues at hand were too complex to be scrutinised with a singular notion of Turkishness or in terms of an identity crisis syndrome. For example, some of the interviewed youngsters articulated that they would find their visits to Turkey 'sometimes boring', and female interviewees heavily criticised some of the cultural practices of Turkish society, namely its sexist tendencies. Some further noted that they barely felt comfortable with, and confident in, speaking Turkish. On the other hand, they didn't use Anglo words, such as 'mum' or 'dad', which, according to them, depicted a lack of respect, and instead they preferred their Turkish equivalents of *anne* (mum) and *baba* (dad). Others whom I interviewed stressed their high proficiency in Turkish and how happy they felt to be 'home' (in Turkey) during their summer holidays. These young people deployed such an intricate picture that their self-identifications were too broad and diverse to be constrained by a singular formulation of Turkishness, yet, at the same time, they had a floating and unsteady connection with it. In other words, they not only contradicted the rigid conceptualisation of Turkishness due to their claimed linguistic and cultural repertoires that were highly affiliated to a contemporary British

way of life, but they also carried the subtle traces of Turkishness in what they told me about their mundane practices.

Additionally, my personal observations in kebab shops, 'Turkish' food stores, fish and chip shops and 'Turkish' restaurants gathered from all over London prompted me to think that the uniform interpretation of Turkishness was inadequate to deal with the complexity at hand. For example, some kebab shops hang the Turkish flag or a map of Turkey on the wall to emphasise their affiliation with the nationalist segment of Turkishness; some restaurants in Green Lanes[1], North London, choose shop names associated with cities in the eastern/south-eastern part of Turkey to index their links with Kurdish ethnicity; some 'Turkish' food stores attach a box next to the till for collecting donations for the Alevi[2] community in London to indicate their attachment to the Alevi philosophy. Furthermore, left-wing socialist groups regularly hold public gatherings in North London after sensational political and social events have occured in Turkey to indicate their alignment with the class struggle of the millions in there. These are some of the salient political, ethnic as well as religious positionings which constitute Turkishness in contemporary London and strongly challenge any monolithic attribution to it.

After my MA interviews I realised that social meanings attached to Turkishness in multi-ethnic London were too sophisticated and complex to be examined and grasped by means of interviewing alone; understanding youth ethnic affiliations required a deeper empirical approach which facilitated the scrutiny of ethnicities through examination of routine, mundane and everyday actions and behaviours. Therefore, for my doctoral research I have adopted an ethnographic perspective and explored the everyday linguistic and popular cultural practices of a group of adolescents of Turkish and Kurdish descent in and around a London secondary school so as to have a close understanding of their ethnic attachments in superdiverse London. I directed my focus towards the following questions while researching the ethnicities of these young informants: What are the mundane linguistic behaviours and popular cultural engagements of these adolescents in and around their school? How might their habitual language use be sociolinguistically described? How are their linguistic, cultural and ethnic practices and ideologies influenced by those emanating from the Turkish nation-state? What do these routine actions and engagements signal about their ethnic

[1]Green Lanes is one of the (rather long) main roads in North London which is the economic, social and cultural hub for Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot communities.

[2]Alevism is a religious affiliation which some perceive as a 'sect' and/or a different interpretation of Islam, whereas others consider it a 'distinct religion'. Contrary to the followers of the four sects of Islam, Alevis do not exercise any of its major practises. They neither worship in a mosque, nor face towards Mecca or carry out the prayer ritual five times a day. They also do not fast for 30 days in the month of Ramadan. On the other hand, Alevis have formed their own way of worshipping in the *cemevi* (Alevi place of worship) with the *dede* (Alevi religious leader) (Geaves, 2003). In terms of ethnicity, there are both Kurdish and Turkish Alevis in Turkey and London. All of my research participants identifying with the Alevi belief were of Kurdish descent.

affiliations? In order to address these specific questions, I adopted an interdisciplinary perspective using the disciplines of sociology, cultural studies and sociolinguistic ethnography. As for my main theoretical framework, I drew on the fluid and ambivalent conceptualisation of ethnicities offered by Stuart Hall. In his theorisation of 'new ethnicities', Hall (1988, 1992, 1996) argues that individuals do not simply represent the cultures or ethnicities into which they are born, but they instead constantly negotiate and reframe these social categories in signalling their dynamic ethnic affiliations. Hall's ground breaking theorisation, which pluralises the notion of ethnicity and deconstructs its association with immutable and eternal nation-centric, ethnic or cultural categories, opens up extensive possibilities hidden beneath the narrow conceptualisations of Turkishness in multi-ethnic London. To put it slightly differently, Hall's configuration of ethnicities allows the myriad ethnic attachments of youngsters of Turkish and Kurdish descent in London to surface.

Ethnic multiplicity among migrants and their descendants with ties to Turkey (as well as Northern Cyprus) has been insufficiently reflected in the UK academic literature and official discourses. They, until recently, have labelled these particular subjects as members of the 'Turkish Speaking Community' as if they were all ethnically Turks, who in practice speak the standard variety of Turkish. This undifferentiated and uniform approach to ethnically disparate groups is historically embedded in the building of the Turkish nation-state in the 1920s, as the following briefly outlines.

1.1 The birth of Turkishness as a state ideology

Turkishness as a state ideology emerged with the birth of the Turkish nation-state founded upon the ashes of the Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923. The multi-ethnic nature of the Ottoman Empire was ignored so as to undertake the modernist project that pursued transforming every subject into sharing a Turkish ethnicity; an imagined homogenous and fixed entity (see Çağaptay, 2006; Isyar, 2005; Kirişci, 2000; Kirişci and Winrow, 1997; Van Bruinessen, 1998). In an attempt to unify the ethnically fragmented people of Anatolia, the new elite looked for binding elements with which they could construct the new state. The Turkish national identity was regarded as the best mould into which every citizen of Turkey would easily fit for the configuration of Turkish high culture (Kirişci and Winrow, 1997; Zucher, 2010). Language was considered as the most vital unifying instrument of culture and linguistic sharedness was established through the constitution of a standard language which became one of the strongest components of the Turkish nation-state (Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004). Herein lies the idea that a linguistically homogenous society could build a unified, prosperous and secure nation (Romano, 2006). Blommaert and

Verschueren (1998:195) call the monolingual delusion and imposition of nation-states, the Turkish state in this particular case, 'the dogma of *homogeneism*'. They postulate it as 'a view of society in which differences are seen as dangerous and centrifugal and in which the 'best' society is suggested to be one without intergroup differences' (ibid:195). That is to say, pluriethnic and plurilingual societies are conceived as problematic since they construct separate units contradicting the natural groupings of people that the advocates of nation-states imagine (ibid.). The Turkish nation-state was influenced by this 'dogma of homogeneism' and regarded linguistic as well as ethnic multiplicity within the newly bounded country as an obstacle to creating a uniform society. Hence, the national identity of Turkishness, drawing on a so-called shared Standard Istanbul Turkish and Turkish culture, was constructed. In Romano's words:

> The Kemalist elite had inherited a multi-ethnic, diverse population from the Ottoman Empire, and they determined that the only viable way to build a successful, durable nation-state was to forge a more homogenous population around the dominant Turkish ethnicity.
>
> (Romano, 2006:117)

The founders of the Turkish nation-state were aware of the fact that not everyone in the country shared the same culture, religion and language, yet they created a system that meant, all of a sudden, everyone inhabiting the country was characterised as an imagined Turk (Aslan, 2007; Loizides, 2010; Romano, 2006). This rigid definition of the Turkish national identity led to the exclusion of subjects who failed to fit into the new category, in particular the largest ethnic minority, the Kurds, as well as the largest religious minority, the Alevis.

1.2 The Turkish nation-state, Kurds and Alevis

Soon after the declaration of the Turkish Republic, the government in Ankara declared its expectation that all ethnic groups in Anatolia would melt into the Turkish nation pot. The Kurds, however, resisted this singular national model as it disregarded their distinctive ethnic characteristics. As a result of their resistance, Kurds were viewed as a threat to the unity of the newly established state (Çağaptay, 2006), and attempts were made to fit them into the new national identity. State involvement in Kurdish people's lives through legislation, such as the ban on using Kurdish languages (Kreyenbroek, 1992) and resettlement laws (Yeğen, 2007), were some of the conscious efforts made towards building a strong, unified and homogenous Turkish state around a putative single Turkish ethnicity (Aslan, 2011; Kirişci, 2000; McDowall, 1992). The constraints on the speaking and publication of Kurdish languages and the partial denial of Kurdish ethnicity were perpetuated until the late 1980s[3]. The

[3]The Kurdish question has drastically shifted from attacking the denial of any ethnicity outside Turkish to demands for the recognition of the linguistic and cultural rights of the Kurds since the late 1980s. The breaking point in the Kurdish question occured when the 8th President Turgut Özal lifted the ban on the verbal, written and recorded expressions of languages other than

expectation of an emergent type of 'Turk' and 'modified Kurd' did not bring about the death of Kurdish identifications and cultural practices (Yavuz, 2005:230). On the contrary, it eventually resulted in the foundation of the armed nationalist movement the PKK[4], listed as a terrorist organisation by the NATO and the European Union, along with internal political fragmentation among the Kurds.

A large group of Kurds mobilised as a Marxist socialist affiliation in the 1970s in Turkey (Bozarslan, 1992). The Kurds' alignment with leftist ideologies commenced in big cities where Kurdish students and intellectuals were aware of their distinctiveness and experienced economic discrimination taking place against their people (Van Bruinessen, 1994). The discourses of economic inequality were rapidly replaced by nationalistic aspirations following the founding of the PKK in the late 1970s. The Kurds falling into this group have justified their claims for a united independent Kurdish nation by arguing that Kurds have a distinct language (in fact, many languages) and inhabit a distinct geographical area called 'Kurdistan'[5] (Van Bruinessen, 1994; Yavuz, 2005). It should also be mentioned that not all Kurdish people associate themselves with the PKK. In particular conservative Sunni Kurds highlight their Islamic identification rather than any narrow nationalistic or ethnic attachment (see Chapter 4 for more details on political fragmentation among the Kurds).

The national description of Turkishness fell short of representing not only the Kurds but also the Alevis due to the tacit emphasis on Sunni Islam embedded within this social construct. In the early years of the Turkish Republic, the Alevis gave their wholehearted support to the secular policies implemented by the Kemalist elite[6] in the hope that the state definition of Turkish citizenship would be equal for all citizens, regardless of their religious affiliations. This was because the Alevis had been suppressed under the Sunni-oriented Ottoman era as Alevism was considered a heterodox religious structure (Geaves, 2003; Kirişci, 2000). However, the Sunni past soon became linked to the definition of the new Turkish national identity, once again leaving out the Alevis. For example, during one debate on the official characterisation of Turkish citizenship, one member of the parliament frankly stated his view that the "real' citizens of Turkey were Hanafi [Sunni] Muslims who spoke Turkish' (Gözübüyük and Zengin, 1957 cited in Kirişci, 2004:276). This delineation apparently excluded both

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Turkish, which specifically meant the Kurdish languages (Ataman, 2002; Kirişci, 2004). This historical step was the first official recognition of the Kurds as a distinct ethnic group in Turkey (Yavuz, 1998).

[4]PKK, *Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Workers' Party), recognised as a terrorist organisation by the United States and the European Union, is fighting an armed uprising against the Turkish state. It was founded by Abdullah Öcalan on 27 November 1978 with leftist-socialist ideologies. The armed organisation later turned into a Kurdish nationalist movement (Yavuz, 2005).

[5]Kurdistan, meaning 'land of the Kurds', is an old name used for the autonomous areas which were densely populated by Kurds during the Ottoman Empire. After World War I, these regions were divided between four countries: Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

[6]'Kemalist elite' is a term used for a group of republican intellectuals who played a major role in the construction of the Turkish nation-state and the notion of Turkishness. The members of this high class rigorously adopted the reforms Atatürk presented and used all possible ways to disseminate these among the ostensibly uneducated, uncultured Anatolian peasantry.

the Alevi Kurds, who speak Zaza and/or Kurmanji[7], and the Alevi Turks, who do not belong to the Hanafi sect of Islam.

The project of describing every subject in the bounded territory of Turkey with an imagined Sunni-Turkish identity caused bitter disappointment among the Alevi Kurds, who had been obliged to live in remote villages while hiding their religious identifications during the Ottoman era (Erdemir, 2005). In 1937, the Zaza-speaking Alevi tribes in Dersim[8] – a city in eastern Turkey which was officially renamed 'Tunceli' – rose against the Turkish state. They advocated a Kurdish nationalist agenda which the Sunni Kurds did not support (Van Bruinessen, 1997). The Turkish armed forces suppressed the rebellion with great force resulting in the death of thousands of Alevis (Ataman, 2002).

The intense leftist movement of the 1960s in Turkey gained enormous numbers of supporters among the Alevis, many of whom were working-class people living in slums and holding down low paid jobs (Şahin, 2005). In addition to their class struggle, this novel political shift appealed to Alevis, because it disavowed the Sunni-Islamic discourses and policies of right-wing parties, which they regarded as a threat to their existence (Dressler, 2008). The political divergence between the pro-leftist groups, with which Alevis were strongly affiliated, and right-wing organisations supported by the Sunni masses, only served to exercabate the tension in Turkey in the 1970s (Koçan and Öncü, 2004). In 1980, the armed forces used the clashes between the two political poles, which had fractured the whole country, as a pretext to execute a coup[9] (Poyraz, 2005). Every political and social segment of Turkish society suffered under this coup, yet it was clear that the socialists, considered to pose a threat to the unity of the country, were the main target of the subsequent clamp down. Thousands of them, many of whom were Alevis (as well as Kurds), sought asylum in European countries, including the UK (Geaves, 2003; Shankland, 2003).

This brief historical account portraying the impact of the creation of a homogenous Turkish identity on the most visible ethnic and religious minorities in Turkey is central to

[7]Zaza and Kurmanji constitute the two main languages spoken by the Kurds living in Turkey. However, whether Zaza speakers belong to a different ethnic group or they are simply Kurds speaking a different language is a debated issue in Turkey (see Van Bruinessen, 1994). My research participants who claimed their parents could speak Zaza identified themselves with Kurdish ethnicity. In my thesis, regardless of the disagreements with respect to the ethnic origins of Zaza speakers, I describe my research participants, whose family members speak Zaza, as Kurds, thus following their own claimed ethnic identifications.

[8]The Kurds perceived the massive social engineering projects implemented by the newly founded state as interference in their private lives. This brought about a revolt launched by the people of *Dersim* (named *Tunceli* in 1935) in 1937. *Dersim İsyani* (Dersim Revolt) was suppressed by a military operation, with a death toll of thousands (Van Bruinessen, 1994).

[9]The 12 September 1980 withnessed the third military coup in the history of the Turkish Republic. Earlier, the polarisation between left and right wing supporters and the clashes between the Alevis and Sunnis led to the death of thousands of students, and an atmosphere of tension throughout the country during the 1970s. Soon after the 1980 coup, thousands of people, whether they were the supporters of leftist or rightist political organisations, were captured by the armed forces and kept in prison for years or were executed. The 1980 coup culminated in thousands of mainly leftist Turks and Kurds abandoning Turkey and travelling as asylum seekers to western European countries, including Britain.

apprehending the explicit statements as well as mundane linguistic and popular cultural practices of the young Londoners of Turkish and Kurdish descent who took part in my research. Back underlines the significance of grasping the complex relationship between the local and global along with the present and past when researching social formations as follows:

> The research imagination has to be supple enough to attend to the interplay between local and global levels in order to find new ways of describing how people live in and across the histories and futures that they make in the present.
>
> (Back, 2009:212-213)

When Back's argument is incorporated into my research, it can thus be said that in order to make sense of the social meanings of the Hackney Youth's everyday behaviours in contemporary North London, it is important to pay attention to the historical as well as the contemporary ethno-political processes in Turkey.

As outlined above, although Turkishness has been widely ascribed uniformity and singularity due to a tacit emphasis placed on one 'Turkish' ethnicity, this concept has no definite, straightforward meaning. Individuals and groups constantly manage and rework the notion in multi-faceted and nuanced ways, in particular in superdiverse settings like London.

1.3 The Turkish question in London

Given that the static and narrow conceptualisation of Turkishness is also influential in the London context, this prompted me to search for other alternative formulations that more accurately reflect the 'lived' ethnic associations of young people with connections to Turkey. In this investigation, I have looked into the everyday language use and popular cultural participations of a group of youngsters of Turkish and/or Kurdish descent with ethnographic lenses so as to elicit a deeper understanding of their ethnicities, indirectly signalled through their routine social interactions and engagements. While referring to my research participants' ethnic affiliations, I use the term 'Turkish/Kurdish (Turkish and/or Kurdish)' for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Turkish Cypriot[10] component did not feature in my dataset. Another important point is that although at the ideological level there is allegedly a deep divide between Turkish and Kurdish people, in everyday practice they are deeply intertwined and overlapping. These two ethnic groups intermarry, have linguistic and religious commonalities, share the same localities in London as well as in Turkey[11] and engage with each other on a

[10]Turkish Cypriots are generally recognised as being the first arrivals in London and the largest ethnic group within the so-called 'Turkish Speaking Community'.

[11]Although Kurds are originally based in the eastern/south-eastern parts of Turkey, there are millions living in the western metropoles of Izmir and Istanbul.

daily basis. Therefore, I will adopt the term 'Turkish/Kurdish' while referring to my participants' ethnicities in a general sense in order to capture this embeddedness.

In the British social science academic literature, there is a dearth of research focussing on youngsters with ties to Turkey (and Northern Cyprus). Most extant studies do not adequately tackle the intricacy and complexity involved in researching these youngsters, taking the label 'Turkish Speaking Community' for granted. That is, the multilingual and multi-ethnic aspect of London, from which youngsters draw a range of linguistic and cultural elements in their surroundings to create their own hybrid forms, have not been adequately taken into consideration. In an attempt to fill this lacuna in the literature, this study is aimed at bringing out the linguistic and cultural hybridity and heterogeneity among youngsters of Turkish/Kurdish background in a London secondary school setting, which will provide a clearer understanding of their multiple ethnic identifications. My research maintains that it is impossible to fully grasp these youngsters' ethnicities with essentialist notions, such as 'Turkish Speaking Community', in superdiverse London in particular. This is because conditions of superdiversity make such labels especially unpredictable by destabilising the modernist definitions of language and ethnicity. Therefore, I argue that rather than taking these social constructs for granted, the processes and contexts in which they have been developed and reproduced should be scrutinised to construe the stances and practices of individuals. In this research, I have adopted approaches to ethnicity that eschew defining subjects with monolithic concepts and instead, highlight the plurality and nuances of specific socially contextualised individual experiences. Chapter 2 will broadly describe the theoretical frameworks upon which my research is founded in understanding the fluid and hybrid nature of ethnicities and languages hidden by the label 'Turkish Speaking Community' in the UK. For this conceptualisation of ethnicities, I will draw on Stuart Hall's (1988, 1996) theorisation of 'new ethnicities'. With a particular focus on Black diasporic experiences, Hall strongly contests the monolithic approaches used to define ethnicity by emphasising the fluidity and ambivalence of everyday practices. I will also detail how this broader definition of ethnicity helped me to grasp the nuanced and multi-faceted experiences of the adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent, whom I call the 'the Hackney Youth' in a mainstream London secondary school. Besides its emphasis on ethnicity, the term 'Turkish Speaking Community' also brings forth the question of language. To understand and analyse the adolescents' hybrid and complex speech patterns, I will draw on theories that broaden the configuration of language and attempt to explicate the diverse linguistic practices of youth in multilingual settings, using Rampton's (1995a) 'crossing', Hewitt's (1992, 2003) 'local multi-ethnic vernacular' and Jorgensen's 'polylingualism' (2008a, b).

The existing literature on diasporic subjects with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus falls short of offering alternative ways of reformulating ethnicities and languages, being stifled by singular and narrow classifications. Although recent studies have acknowledged the inadequacy of using homogenous categorisations for people with multiple ethnic, linguistic and cultural connections and have attempted to reveal the heterogeneity hidden beneath, they have failed to address more complex questions of ethnicity as well as language (e.g. King et al. 2008a, b). This issue largely emanates from their methodological approaches, which are mainly based on statements given in response to questions in interviews and surveys, rather than the actual practices of individuals being captured with ethnographic lenses (although see Creese et al., 2008; Issa, 2006; Lytra, 2012). While some recent studies have adopted an ethnographic approach, such as Creese et al. (2007, 2008), Lytra and Baraç (2008), they have not fully brought out the linguistic and cultural practices performed by young Londoners with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. In Chapter 3, I will describe my methodological approach by showing how the study of situated language use and popular cultural practices can help to capture and interpret the social meanings ascribed to Turkishness and Kurdishness in the institutional setting in which I carried out my research. I have taken an ethnographic perspective and utilised the ethnographic data collection tools of interviewing, recording of naturally occurring speech, fieldnotes and participant observation, because I perceived ethnography was the best way to gain insights into the everyday social lives of the young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent, within which they experience and perform their ethnicities.

I will then move on to illustrate what Turkishness and Kurdishness might mean for these young people of Turkish/Kurdish descent by exploring their talk-in-interaction as well as their popular cultural engagements in the mundane. Before demonstrating the indirect ways in which the Hackney Youth have signalled their ethnic attachments through linguistic behaviour and popular culture, in Chapter 4 I will show some moments when these youngsters made their ethnic and political attachments explicit. I will present the link between their overt declarations and the ethnically-related political processes which have been ongoing since the founding of the Turkish state. I will also argue that despite their disparate and sometimes conflicting political and ethnic stances, the Hackney Youth have developed a convivial culture where their differences are normalised in a London context.

In Chapter 5, I will describe the linguistic competition between standard Turkish language ideology and the Hackney Youth's everyday Turkish language use, as well as some of the ways in which the adolescents dealt with the continued dominance of Standard Istanbul Turkish. I will demonstrate how the official Turkish lessons offered at

the school promoted the supremacy of Standard Istanbul Turkish by delegitimising the non-standard versions of written and spoken Turkish used by the adolescents. Although there were moments when standard Turkish language ideology had an influence on the language use of the Hackney Youth, I will show that these adolescents widely adopted regional, low-status and non-standard varieties of Turkish in their habitual speech. I will suggest that their pervasive embodiment of non-standard and even stigmatised tokens of speech is a social marker, which signals the working-class aspect of their ethnicities experienced together in this contemporary North London setting.

In Chapter 6, I will provide a detailed description of the Hackney Youth's hybrid language practices. This chapter will present the creative and systematic ways in which the Hackney Youth embraced hybrid Turkish-English speech as well as the local multi-ethnic vernacular of North London whilst talking to each other and other people in the school. I will argue that an investigation into routine linguistic behaviour is an important way of construing how ethnicities are signalled in particular in multi-ethnic settings like London. My speech data reveals that the Hackney Youth adopted a wide range of linguistic items which signify their identification with a type of ethnically-inflected working-class Londonness. To put it differently, their ethnicities, signalled through language in use, are inextricably intertwined with local North London as well as diasporic Turkish/Kurdish connections.

In Chapter 7, I will demonstrate the link between popular cultural practices and Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities, focussing on the Turkish/Kurdish and Anglo forms of popular culture with which the Hackney Youth engaged in their routine lives. The youngsters showed great interest in popular cultural products emanating from both Turkey (e.g. Turkish soap operas, Turkish/Kurdish folk dance and music) and Britain (e.g. English football clubs and Anglo rap/hip-hop music). Gender differences in their popular cultural orientations emerged as a prominent aspect of their ethnic affiliations; the boys tended to participate in British football clubs and British/American hip-hop music and musicians, whereas the girls preferred to stick to Turkish/Kurdish elements of popular culture. I will argue that an in-depth look into the consumption of these popular cultural products uncovers the multi-faceted aspect of their Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities experienced and operated in contemporary North London. Finally, in Chapter 8, I will summarise my main arguments highlighted throughout the thesis in relation to the ethnic affiliations of the Hackney Youth in their North London social space. I will argue that historically and socially constructed rigid classifications, such as 'Turkish Speaking Community', fail to represent the everyday experiences of adolescents who create their own hybrid forms of identifications in superdiverse

London. I will claim that a focus on habitual language practices and popular cultural engagements provides a close understanding of the possible meanings of Turkishness and Kurdishness for young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent. Finally, I will briefly touch upon some important themes that emerged from my data and need further empirical investigation.

CHAPTER 2

THEORISING ETHNICITY AMONG 'TURKISH/KURDISH' YOUTH in LONDON

2.0 Introduction

In the introduction I have pointed out that the widely used ethnic concept of 'Turkish Speaking Community' is an historical and social construct which fails to capture the ethnic identifications of individuals, in particular young people with ties to Turkey, growing up in superdiverse London. Despite being narrow, homogenous and nation-centric, this notion has been adopted in academic studies as well as in non-academic publications. In this chapter, I will detail the inadequacy of singular and bounded conceptualisations of ethnicity to understand fully the ethnic attachments of young Londoners with connections to Turkey. I will also present the theoretical frameworks upon which I have drawn to conceptualise ethnicities. I will suggest that broad and flexible approaches to ethnicities facilitate the revelation of multiple ethnic possibilities hidden under otherwise uniform categories. Stuart Hall's (1988; 1996) theorisation of 'new ethnicities', which has pluralised and loosened the notion ethnicity by countering its essentialist configurations with a particular focus on the Black experience in the UK, has provided a useful framework to challenge the narrow interpretations of Turkishness and bring to the surface the hybridity and multiplicity within. In addition, I will argue that one important aspect of Turkishness is strongly linked to language; looking into habitual language behaviour thus gives insights into how ethnicities are lived and experienced. I will also discuss theories of language, specifically, Blommaert and Backus' (2011) 'language repertoires', Rampton's (1995a) 'crossing' and Jorgensen's (2008a, b) 'polylingualism', which seek to bring out the linguistic diversity and complexity among young speakers living in multi-ethnic and multilingual societies like London. First, I will begin with elucidating the problematic facets of the label, 'Turkish Speaking Community', a notion that is readily used to define inherently heterogeneous groups of people in the UK.

2.1 The 'Turkish Speaking Community': Problems of a label

The term 'Turkish Speaking Community' has been widely used in such a way as to encompass ethnically diverse groups of people who have ties with Turkey and Northern Cyprus in the UK. A prevailing practice in sociological studies (e.g. Atay, 2010; Küçükcan, 1999; Wright and Kurtoğlu-Hooton, 2006) and official reports (e.g. Communities and Local Government London, 2009) in Britain is to refer to the 'Turkish Speaking Community', thus implying an intrinsic, single and homogenous group.

However, it is not a unitary community despite the singularity the concept evokes (Erdemir and Vasta, 2007). In fact, it involves a number of different ethnicities that are eclipsed by the phrase. There are three primary diverse ethnic groups: i) Turkish Cypriots, ii) Turks from Turkey, and iii) Kurds from Turkey (Altınay and Altınay, 2008; Issa, 2005, 2008; King et al., 2008a, b). Although these three separate ethnic labels seem to cover the majority of people with links to Turkey and Northern Cyprus, they indeed fall short of capturing the ethnic diversity within the so-called uniformity. This is mainly because these labels themselves disguise or do not take into account a number of other distinctive ethnic stances. These are: i) adolescents who were born and brought up in London under the ethnic label 'Turkish' (Küçükcan, 2004) and ii) adolescents with one parent from Turkish Cypriot, Turkish or Kurdish ethnicities and one parent identified with another ethnic formation[12] (Enneli et al., 2005). In particular, the younger generation has rarely been researched as speaking subjects in British studies of culture. My research aims to address the gap by providing detailed descriptions of the everyday lives of the young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent.

The population of so-called Turkish speakers in the UK is estimated to be between 180,000 and 200,000 (Mehmet Ali, 2001). No accurate data in relation to their number is available since official censuses fall short of providing detailed information about the population of each ethnic group constituting the putative 'Turkish Speaking Community' for various reasons, as I will detail below. The majority of people described as 'Turkish-speakers' live in and around London, particularly in the boroughs of Islington, Hackney, Haringey, Stoke Newington and Southwark (Issa, 2006, 2008). Although their presence is strongly sensed in these areas today, it was the Turkish Cypriots, the first arrivals to the UK, who determined the patterns of settlement.

The main Turkish Cypriot migration to the UK began after World War II, gaining momentum in the 1960s owing to inter-communal fighting between Turkish and Greek Cypriots on the island. The colonial links as well as abundant employment opportunities in the post-1945 British labour market made Britain their favoured destination (Oakley, 1971). The partition of the island into the Turkish North and the Greek South in 1974 caused further mass migration from Cyprus to the UK as a result of a population exchange[13] (Canefe, 2002). In comparison with Turkish Cypriots' motives for migrating to Britain, migration from mainland Turkey, which started in the

[12]According to the 2011 UK Census, 2.2 % of the total population of 56.1 million in England and Wales is mixed-raced. The northern boroughs of London where people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus are highly concentrated, such as Haringey with 4.39 %, Hackney with 4.17 % and Islington with 3.81 % mixed-race population, are on the top of the list (see the link for further information https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1yc8W1SiCbWd9V4I9KmTlY_Rk_qullL828Qxbsvth93w/edit?hl=en accessed on 10.04.2016). In my research there were two participants of mixed-race heritage, Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent) and Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent).

[13]The 1974 population exchange led to the division of the island into two, as Turkish North and Greek South, following the Turkish military invention in Cyprus in reaction to the Greek military coup against the existing government on the island.

1970s and comprised Turkish nationals, was initially for economic purposes, responding to the boom in the textile industry. Following the 1980 military coup in Turkey, a second wave of migration from the mainland began, this time mainly made up of leftist Kurds and Alevi refugees with professional or educational backgrounds (Erdermir and Vasta, 2007). The political situation in the 1980s in Turkey was oppressive regarding religious and ethnic minorities. An outbreak of tension between the armed Kurdish nationalist movement PKK (see footnote 4) and the Turkish state in the late 1980s and early 1990s displaced thousands of Kurds, many of whom sought asylum in the UK (Griffiths, 2002). Despite the fact that all three groups (Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds) have disparate patterns of and motivations for migration to the UK, as discussed above, they have come to be largely classified as the 'Turkish Speaking Community' in the diasporic context of the UK.

Apart from several academic publications in Britain (e.g. Creese et al., 2007; Çavuşoğlu, 2010; Demir, 2015; King et al., 2008a, b; Lytra, 2011, 2012) the singular and uniform notion of 'Turkish Speaking Community' has been extensively embraced at the expense of the political controversy and ethnic heterogeneity which the label hides. The primary institutions contributing to the common use of this homogenous classification in Britain are official discourses and some campaigning literature. Official discourses in my research refer to the general censuses, policy documents and local council research reports, all of which provide data about the various aspects of migrants from Turkey and Northern Cyprus and their children in the UK or a particular borough (e.g. Communities and Local Government, 2009; GLA, 2009). Campaigning literature on the other hand is concerned with those publications that touch upon the deep-rooted social problems of education and unemployment among these people (e.g. Mehmet Ali, 2001). It is worth highlighting that this umbrella term has been adopted predominantly by policy makers and official bodies not by the participants themselves. The majority of official sources of data and campaigning literature on the so-called 'Turkish Speaking Community' superficially mention the three ethnic fragmentations (Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds) constituting this ostensible unity (see Atay, 2010). However, they rarely include adolescents who have been born to Turkish Cypriot, Turkish or Kurdish parents and brought up in London or who are of mixed-ethnicities with one parent from outside these communities (although see Enneli et al., 2005)[14].

[14]It might be argued that the use of 'Turkish Speaking Community' is not homogenising or essentialist, because the notion indicates a number of communities who speak a particular language rather than ascribing an ethnic identification to them. Nonetheless, the strong relationship between 'a language' and 'a community' constructed through the term represents one of the most dominant ideologies of nation-states, i.e. 'a speech community', and is thus deeply problematic, being essentialist in some ways (see 2.5.1 below for the discussion on 'speech communities').

Official reports are one of the sources perpetuating the label 'Turkish Speaking Community' in Britain. This can be clearly seen in various censuses and local council research reports which fail to provide separate official statistics on the different ethnicities constituting this umbrella term. As a result, minority ethnic groups seem to be concealed under the broad ethnic categories of 'Turks' or 'Turkish Speaking Community' (e.g. GLA, 2009). For example, the first arrivals to the UK, Turkish Cypriots, were not numerically distinguished from the wider Greek Cypriot category and were documented as Cypriots until the 1991 Census (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). Later, with the migration from mainland Turkey, their numbers were blended with Turks and Kurds from Turkey (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Robins and Aksoy, 2001). A similar approach was adopted in calculating the population of Kurds. That is, they were officially recorded as Turks after their arrival in Britain, for migrants are recorded in accordance with their nationality, not their ethnic affiliation (Holgate et al., 2010; Holgate et al., 2012; King et al., 2008a, b). The same classification has been followed in large or small scale surveys and censuses.

Following the 2001 UK Census, some local educational authorities (LEAs) decided to collect additional data to find out the proportion of ethnic groups in certain boroughs to develop and plan their educational strategies accordingly. Research conducted for the education provider in the north London borough of Islington, for instance, indicated that a large number of Kurdish students were incorrectly documented as Turkish or Turkish Cypriots. Şahan scrutinised the situation on site in several primary schools and one secondary school and found that:

> It is clear that the size of the Kurdish population is very largely underestimated. Our estimate, based on our interviews with parents and bilingual staff at schools, and other research, is that the Kurdish pupils constitute 60% to 80% of the combined Turkish, Kurdish, Turkish Cypriots pupils in Islington schools.
>
> (Şahan, 2003:9)

Several factors had led to the incorrect recording of the Kurdish students' ethnicities, such as school staff making inaccurate assumptions regarding identification of ethnicity, basing it only on the language spoken as well as the Kurdish parents' reluctance to redress this error (GLA, 2009). This misunderstanding is probably exacerbated by the fact that many young people of Kurdish descent cannot or do not speak a Kurdish language (Zaza or Kurmanji). This might be as a result of their prior formal education in Turkey (Issa, 2005), which is only delivered in Turkish, and/or their constant exposure to the Turkish language used in their family environment[15].

[15]All of my research participants of Kurdish descent, except for one, claimed a very limited proficiency in Zaza or Kurmanji (Kurdish languages). They also stated that hardly any of their family members used these ethnically marked languages whilst conversing with them.

Consequently, school staff uninformed about the political situation in Turkey might have identified these Turkish speaking students as Turks in regards to their ethnicity.

Besides official censuses and surveys, some campaigning literature in Britain also promotes homogenous ascriptions regarding migrants from Turkey and Northern Cyprus by maintaining the taken-for-granted label of 'Turkish Speaking Community' (e.g. Atay, 2010; Baykusoglu, 2009; Mehmet Ali, 1985, 2001). Campaigning literature generally discusses the serious socio-economic problems that migrants with links with Turkey and Northern Cyprus as well as their descendants experience on a daily basis. To illustrate, in an early publication, a community activist, Mehmet Ali (2001), focused on the educational underachievement of the so named 'Turkish Speaking' adolescents by entitling her publication: 'Turkish Speaking Community and Education: no delight'. Campaining literature aims to raise the visibility of Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds and their descendants in the British context by contributing to the limited extant literature and offering solutions to tackle entrenched socio-economic and educational problems. Nonetheless, none of them have deeply questioned how appropriate it is to take for granted the label of 'Turkish Speaking Community'.

Some of the recent reports and campaigning literature have diverged from the aforementioned publications by emphasising the ethnic factions which do exist and are embraced under seemingly uniform labels, such as the 'Turkish Speaking Community'. For instance, Issa et al. (2008) named their report investigating the low educational achievement of adolescents with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus, 'Young people's educational attainment in London's Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot Communities' and the GLA (2009) titled one of its recent reports on general aspects of these ethnic groups in London 'Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot Communities in London'. Academic literature has also responded to this shift from subsuming these diverse ethnicities under the one phrase the 'Turkish Speaking Community' by recognising alternatives and challenging this misrepresentation of uniformity. For example, Küçükcan (1999:252) found that Turkish Cypriots in London tended to distinguish themselves from mainland Turks in particular. He argues that 'the self-ascribed duality prepares the ground to discuss 'Turkish identities' rather than a single 'Turkish identity' in London'. More recently, King et al. (2008b) took the argument a step further and offered the term 'CTK (Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish) communities' following the sequence of migration into the UK of each community. My research acknowledges the major role these studies have played in pluralising the deeply rooted term 'Turkish Speaking Community' in British sociological studies, as well as their crucial contributions to the academic literature. However, even these broader notions can be problematic in several aspects. For instance, in one of my interactions with a Turkish

Cypriot parent, who was born and brought up in London, I used King et al.'s (2008b) term 'CTK communities' to show my awareness about the ongoing debates on ethnic categorisations within these communities. She then expressed her objection to this concept and asked me to use 'TCTK' (Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish) instead, 'because' she said 'we are not 'Cypriots', we are 'Turkish Cypriots' (fieldnotes: 21.05.2013). In a similar vein, I recorded a conversation between two of my research participants, Zirav (Kurdish descent, f) and Sema (Turkish descent, f), whilst implicitly discussing the order of the ethnic classifications used in different conceptualisations. Upon Sema's articulation of the notion 'TKC' (Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot) during her description of an event that had happened at school, Zirav indicated her uneasiness and asked Sema to correct her statement by using the concept 'KTC' (Kurdish, Turkish and Turkish Cypriot) instead. Sema was, in fact, displeased by Zirav's alternative formulation and kept using the term 'TKC' strategically, so as to demonstrate her political stance that 'Turkish' ethnicity should be placed first (recording: 05.11.2013). These incidents show that there is no unproblematic ethnic term that can be used to refer to Londoners who have links with Turkey and/or Northern Cyprus due to the historical and political tensions within (Turkish vs. Kurdish) as well as with other ethnic groups (Turkish Cypriots vs. Greek Cypriots). However, it should also be borne in mind that despite these occasional disagreements and contestations, there is a complex interplay between these ethnic groups in the North London context, where they share the same geographical space, similar cultural practices and linguistic commonalities (different varieties of Turkish), as I discuss in detail below.

Subjects ascribed to the monolithic 'Turkish Speaking Community' are heterogeneous with different migration trajectories and originating from various geographical regions. A wide range of social cases from asylum seekers to au pairs, businessmen to students, many with diverse linguistic repertoires, political ideologies, religious affiliations, cultural practices and socio-economic backgrounds are embraced within this singular category (see Atay, 2010). With regard to this variety, Hall (1990:235) suggests that diaspora experiences can be understood 'not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity', because, he continues, 'diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference' (ibid:235). Hall's argument is central to my research for two reasons: i) the category of 'Turkish Speaking Community' which is said to represent the essence or purity of the Turkish nation is indeed very diverse and heterogeneous, and ii) diaspora communities are subjected to constant transformation, adding new linguistic or cultural practices to their

repertoires and sharing their everyday experiences with the wider community, which lead to substantial changes in the diasporic setting. This approach to the diaspora requires us to recognise and delineate the inherently heterogeneous nature of the social construct of 'Turkish Speaking Community'. My research gives credit to the studies, reports and campaigning literature which attempts to acknowledge that 'Turkish Speaking Community' or 'Turkishness' might refer to Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities in London. But my perspective on ethnicity goes further by arguing that these notions have been socially constructed and that they have no fixed or given meanings. The fluidity and dynamism within these concepts can be grasped only when the contexts and the interactional processes by which they are constituted and shaped are studied. In the following sections, I will broadly discuss the theoretical approaches that concentrate on the ambivalent and hybrid nature of youth ethnicities in the diaspora, but for now I briefly touch upon some of the literature on people in the UK with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus.

2.2 An overview of the academic literature on Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds in the UK

People with links to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have been underresearched in British sociological studies when compared to more visible ethnic groups, such as those originating from Caribbean and South Asia (Enneli et al., 2005; Küçükcan, 1999). Enneli et al. (2005) suggest that the key reason behind their invisibility is British officials' excessive focus on the category of 'race', thereby drawing attention to the white and non-white divide, in which those from Northern Cyprus and Turkey do not occupy a definite position. It is further argued that the self-sufficiency of these people, many of whom find employment in the ethnic economy through strong kinship and social networks, (Issa, 2005; Thomson, 2006), intensifies their invisibility. Socio-economic problems experienced by people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have prevailed for decades, such as a large number of people living in the most deprived boroughs of London (Communities and Local Government, 2009), individuals working long hours and being paid below the minimum wage (Holgate et al., 2012) as well as children and young people underachieving in the British education system (Baykusoglu, 2009; Issa et al., 2008; Jones, 2014). For example, Sonyel (1988) investigated the reasons underpinning the academic failure of 'Turkish Muslim children' in the British education system. Educational underachievement among adolescents whose parents are from Turkey and Northern Cyprus seems to persist even two decades after Sonyel (1988) first highlighted the problem. Baykusoglu (2009) similarly looked into the root causes of low attainment through consulting government reports and opinion surveys. He found out that the parents' lack of competence in English and

knowledge about the operation of the British education system are the main reasons for the so-named 'Turkish-speaking' young people's failure in British schools.

Different from the abovementioned research, some recent studies have focussed on the problematic facet of the label of 'Turkish Speaking Community', which is ascribed as a national identity to migrants from Turkey and Northern Cyprus. Scholars have challenged its adequacy as a representation of the diverse ethnic communities covered. For instance, Robins and Aksoy (2001) have argued that as the Turkish Cypriot diaspora includes cultural elements from various ethnic compositions, members of this community cannot be bounded by any national or ethnic classification. In line with these authors' research, King et al. (2008b) have contested the notion of 'Turkish Speaking Community' or 'Turks', as accorded to Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Kurds in Britain. This they undertook by presenting the migration trajectory of one female from each ethnic group to demonstrate their diversity. Their findings suggest that all three ethnically diverse groups are very heterogeneous with regard to the official status and socio-economic situation of their members.

Additionally, some existing studies have explored how Kurds from Turkey have mobilised politically in the UK context and engaged in Kurdish political activism in order to gain official recognition of their distinct ethnic identifications (e.g. Baser, 2011; Demir 2012, 2014, 2015; Soguk, 2008; Wahlbeck, 1998, 1999). In her ethnographic work, Demir (2015:71) investigated 'the Kurdish diaspora's ethno-political battles for identity' through her in-depth observation and captured interview data that illuminate the strategies Kurdish people adopt to be heard by British authorities. In another insightful publication (Demir, 2012), she presented the complex and multi-faceted relationship Kurdish people in London maintain with Turks and Turkey. She found that Kurds resist some of the linguistic and ethnic policies of the Turkish nation-state as well as the Turks who support these ideologies, whilst at the same time retaining strong, and even, close links with Turks and Turkey. By demonstrating both sides of the story in a dynamic manner, she has deployed a particular epistemological stance which contrasts with some of the existing literature that tends to over-focus on the political clashes and tensions between Kurds and Turks in the diaspora and also ignores the fact that these two groups engage with each other for social and economic reasons (e.g. Baser, 2011, 2013). In my ethnographically informed research, I also found no evidence supporting the idea that different and even conflicting ethno-political attachments serve to construct impregnable boundaries among London-based young people of Turkish and Kurdish descent. Despite some moments when the Hackney Youth openly articulated their low-key political affiliations (see Chapter 4), these youngsters formed a convivial

culture (Gilroy, 2006) in which they established close friendship bonds and shared linguistic as well as popular cultural elements (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

As shown above, some of the extant research studies have investigated the long-standing problem of educational attainment, while several recent ones have interrogated the adequacy of the homogenous terms attributed to these ethnically heterogeneous groups including their inner factions, in particular, by examining the ethnic and political differences among 'Turks' and 'Kurds' living in the diaspora. These studies have played an important role in giving voice to people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus and their descendants in the British context. Moreover, some of them have subtly challenged the hegemony of singular ethnic concepts by offering more plural alternative terms. As mentioned earlier, my research acknowledges and builds on these studies, which to some extent, have attempted to add additional dimensions to within the singular national ascription of 'Turkish Speaking Community'. Nevertheless, there remain several general issues relating to these studies: i) they fall far short in questioning the inadequacy of this label, ii) the question of social class has been widely neglected, and iii) the methodological approaches adopted pose serious challenges. The first problematic facet is that the diversity within this homogenous concept has not been adequately dealt with. Despite recent efforts to offer a more suitable term to encompass all group members, such as 'CTK' (Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish) (e.g. King et al., 2008b), some group members are still excluded. As maintained throughout my research, categories whether they are religious, linguistic or ethnic, miss out some individuals with divergent practices and affiliations. Instead of framing the essences of 'Kurds' or 'Turks', the problematisation of these terms and other national attributions by providing a detailed portrayal of individuality and heterogeneity that is achieved through showing how people interpret and experience these social constructs, can be a more useful way of approaching the question of ethnicity.

The second problem derives from the fact that the role of social class in the formation of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities in the UK context has been sorely neglected. Researchers have generally drawn attention to ethno-political dynamics and incongruities between Turks and Kurds. An over-focus on one aspect of identification while overlooking the effects of other social constructs, such as social class, on ordinary life, might lead to only a partial interpretation of ethnicities. In my ethnographically informed research, I have found out that social class is also an important dimension of Turkishness and Kurdishness, which can be understood when the everyday language practices and popular cultural engagements of subjects with ties to Turkey are closely investigated. For example, in Chapters 5 and 6, I will discuss

how the working-class identifications of the Hackney Youth are indirectly marked by their habitual speech.

The third issue is concerned with the methodological approaches that most of the abovementioned research employed. These studies have entirely depended upon surveys and interviews (generally conducted once only) as their prime data collection methods. Despite the fact that both methods are common and are effective data collection tools in social science research, they rely on statements made in response to leading questions about ethnicity, rather than the observation and analysis of actual practices, which form essential components when seeking to understand how ethnicities operate in real life situations. A survey is a practical tool for collecting information about age, gender, occupation, and so on, of a large group of participants, yet on their own, the generated numbers and proportions might not be sufficient when dealing with the complex question of ethnicity. That is to say, the data collection methods adopted by the aforementioned studies have not been sufficient to provide a full understanding of the notion of ethnicity and as a result, need to be supported by other methods and approaches (although see Demir, 2012, 2015). My research involved employing an ethnographic perspective in investigating the ethnic affiliations of London youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent, because it was deemed to be a more fruitful way of scrutinising the deep social phenomena of ethnicity and language in superdiverse settings like London. Ethnographic data collection methods of observation, recording of naturally occurring language use, interviews and fieldnotes are some of the effective techniques that took me beyond the limitations of survey- and interview-based research. In chapter 3, I will detail how ethnography has allowed me to have a deeper understanding of the linguistic and popular cultural practices of the Hackney Youth in relation to their multiple and complex ethnic identifications. Next, I discuss the problematic nature of the umbrella term 'Turkish Speaking Community' for young Londoners, whose hybrid ethnic and linguistic practices are very specific and context-related.

2.2.1 So-called 'Turkish speaking' adolescents in London: signs of hybridity

As shown in the preceding sections of this chapter, the rigid and hegemonic concept of 'Turkish Speaking Community' marginalises and leaves out a large number of people related to Turkey and Northern Cyprus due to their religious, ethnic or linguistic affiliations which contradict the nation-centric conceptualisation of Turkishness. The narrow ethnic reconfigurations of the so-called 'Turkish speaking' adolescents have either led to their portrayal as a 'lost generation' (Mehmet Ali, 2006) or positioned them squeezed between the 'traditional conservative Middle Eastern culture imposed on

them by their parents and modern western culture in which they are born and bred' (Atay, 2010:136). This restricted interpretation of their ethnicities is expressed by the following teacher reported on in an earlier study:

> They haven't got a Turkish culture. They haven't got a Kurdish culture. They haven't got an English culture. They don't know really what to do. They haven't got a real identity. Who are they? They are not Turkish, they are not Kurdish, they are not English ... they are in between. Of course, they can say 'we are British' or 'we are all three cultures', and some do, but some just want to be Turkish, some just want to be Kurdish and it's a really difficult position for them.
>
> (Issa et al., 2008:17)

The teacher assumes that these young people are in 'an identity crisis' having no definite ethnic positioning, because they cannot place themselves in a single, neatly-defined ethnic category. From this limited perspective, multi-ethnic subjects are required to be confined as members of singular, homogenous and bounded ethnic classifications. However, attempts to imprison youth of this type within singular national categories are troublesome and futile. This approach to understanding ethnicity falls short of explicating the hybrid practices they adopt in the everyday, such as Christmas celebrations, as described by a Turkish Cypriot lady in a previous study:

> We will celebrate Christmas[16], with presents, sit there and have a turkey, with cacik and humus. Zeytinyağlı fasulye[17] next to turkey.
>
> (Robins and Aksoy, 2001:697)

This Turkish Cypriot woman demonstrates a hybrid way of celebrating Christmas that has been blended with the food culture of Northern Cyprus. She goes on to explain the mingling of a Christian religious celebration with cultural elements from her parental origins in a diasporic environment: 'we've sort of taken a bit from each, a bit from our Cypriot culture, a bit from the British culture (ibid: 699). This juxtaposition of practices emerging from several cultural backgrounds is in fact a commonplace hybrid way of living among multi-ethnic urban individuals (see Hall, 1988, 1996; Harris, 2006). In order to explore these emergent cultural practices, we need a theoretical shift, which goes beyond belongings and attachment to a single national or cultural entity. Küçükcan's (1999) study, scrutinising what he called 'young Turkish Muslims' attitudes towards Islam and their inherited cultural values from a sociological point of view, illustrates the patterns of change in adolescents' approaches to parental culture, finding that the

[16]The majority of Muslims do not celebrate Christmas as it is a religious celebration of Christians. However, as this Turkish Cypriot lady expressed, some people who have links with Turkey and Northern Cyprus have composed their own hybridised cultural practices in the London context. Some of my participants also mentioned that they got together with their family members and had dinner at Christmas.

[17]*Cacık* is a starter made of yogurt, salt, mint, and cucumber. *Zeytinyaglı fasulye* is a Turkish dish in which green beans are cooked with olive oil.

> young generation is developing a somewhat different identity from their parents. Nevertheless, the emergent identity construction among young Turks still carries the imprint of Turkish tradition and culture but increasingly in the form of symbolic attachment. It appears that this trend among the young generation will continue as the Turkish ethnicity and national identity are not fixed categories, rather they are undoubtedly imagined, but equally felt, known and lived.
>
> (Küçükccan, 1999:257)

In this passage, Küçükcan hints at the fluid and hybrid ethnic affiliations among adolescents of 'Turkish' descent, as well as the signs of emergent formations in the form of the young people's emblematic attachment to parental cultural and religious assets, a phenomenon that Gans (1979) termed 'symbolic ethnicity'. Küçükcan discovered that these young people appeared to know very little about Islam and held different views on sexuality, marriage and social relations to those of their parents. On the other hand, rather than a thorough rejection of their parental values and morals, they deployed an alternative way to reconcile inherited customs with the dominant practices of the cultures they encountered in their everyday UK lives. Based on his findings, Küçükcan argues that the notion of ethnicity is unsteady and continuously negotiated. This inescapably transforms youngsters in the UK context. In the words of Küçükcan,

> There is an emergent identity construction taking place among the young generation. This emergent identity is not exclusively shaped by 'Turkey/Cypriot inspired perceptions', but rather it is increasingly based on 'local/British inspired perceptions'. This argument can be taken a step further to suggest that British-Turkish identities are emerging among young Turks in London.
>
> (Küçükcan, 1999:250)

This transformation mentioned by Küçükcan has been pointed out in the following excerpt from an official report:

> Notwithstanding a strong sense of Turkish identity, the community has seen the emergence of an 'Anglo-Turkish' identity and language among the young.
>
> (Communities and Local Government, 2009:57)

With a strong emphasis on hybridised practices and identifications produced in connection with diasporic (Turkey and Northern Cyprus) and local (Britain) influences, these statements signal the emergence of multiple ethnic affiliations among the younger generations. This point has been underlined in Simsek's thesis, entitled 'the identity formation of CTK young people in London', in which he argues:

> CTK youth offer dynamic, mobile and fluid positioning around the daily experiences of being 'Turkish', 'Kurdish', 'Turkish-Cypriot', 'Alevi', 'Londoner' and so on.
>
> (Simsek, 2012:217)

Additionally, a young man of Turkish Cypriot origin reported on in Enneli et al. (2005) highlights this hybrid construction and summarises some key issues relevant to this thesis with the following:

> I'm Turkish. Turkish Cypriot I guess … I've got a British passport so I have to say I'm British. I was born in England but I don't say I'm English … I do feel British … I've got used to everything in England now, so just the way they work, the tax and everything. So I say I'm British.
>
> (Enneli et al., 2005:39)

Probably when first asked who he was or how he felt ethnically, this young man immediately stated that he was 'Turkish', an ethnic identity associated with all people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. He later expressed that he was 'Turkish Cypriot', an ethnic identification that indicates national awakening among the Turkish Cypriots who accept their historical links with Turkishness, whilst at the same time, emphasising their distinct Turkish Cypriot identification. In the end, he signalled his permanent and strong connections to Britain due to his affiliation with everyday lifestyle in Britain. In this extract, this young man expresses that ethnic categories are indeed not wholly fixed and stable, but ambiguous and flexible. Adolescents like this individual, who were born and brought up experiencing interaction with a range of cultural practices, can easily affiliate with and carry imprints from them. Küçükcan explains this in the following quotation:

> there is a constant identity negotiation among the Turkish youth. On the one hand, they accept and desire to have British citizenship as an umbrella identity; on the other hand, they do not want to see a conflict in being Turkish as well as being British. For them, British-ness does not require them to get rid of their national, ethnic and cultural identity.
>
> (Küçükcan, 2004:250)

The common argument of the aforementioned studies is that adolescents, having connection with more than one geographical location, culture, language and so on, are not suffering an identity crisis and do not necessarily need to sacrifice one aspect for the sake of others. In this dynamic process, the values and practices of the wider society are harmoniously blended with the ones of their parental heritage. This means the ethnic associations of the Hackney Youth cannot be fully construed with an essentialist depiction of 'a culture, a language and a people'. I need to adopt analytical approaches that take me beyond monolithic, static and stable conceptualisations of ethnicity. Thus, I employ Stuart Hall's (1988, 1996) theory of 'new ethnicities'. It is the most suitable theoretical framework for deconstructing attachments and belongings to imagined communities, specifically, regarding the conceptualisation of youth ethnicities in multi-ethnic spaces like London.

2.3 Theoretical approaches to the concept of ethnicity

As broadly detailed above, the multi-faceted and nuanced ethnic attachments of adolescents whose parents are from Turkey as well as Northern Cyprus have been collectively subsumed under the uniform title 'Turkish Speaking Community' in the UK. This national ascription is a ramification stemming from the monolithic and

homogenous definition of ethnicity in Turkey as well as in the UK. An orientation beyond belongings and attachments to bounded national entities required theoretical frameworks in order to be able to grasp the diversity and heterogeneity within my target group, adolescents of Turkish and/or Kurdish descent in London. With the aim of uncovering the plurality and multiplicity among these diasporic young people, I drew upon anti-essentialist theoretical approaches to ethnicity, in particular Stuart Hall's (1988, 1996) theorisation of 'new ethnicities'.

A theoretical paradigm shift in the British studies of culture from the categorisation of collectives based on a set of alleged biologically and geographically constructed entities (race) to the dynamic new ethnicities of 'multiple subjectivities' will be detailed in order to make sense of the everyday and ordinary practices of the Hackney Youth. In the following sections, I focus on the transformation from the fixed and stable interpretations of ethnicity, to a more plural, open and flexible configuration offered by the scholars within British Cultural Studies. But before I do that, I will briefly touch upon the primordial conceptualisations of 'race' and ethnicity, which tend to be dominant in popular understandings of the meanings of these terms.

2.3.1 Primordial approaches to 'race' and ethnicity

The concept of race as a meaningful biological classification of human 'races' has been founded on an ostensible 'natural' physical and moral hierarchy (Smedley and Smedley, 2012). The race science claimed that human races operated in ranks, with the Europeans being superior to 'Negroes' and 'Indian-Americans'. Biological differences of the non-Europeans in the New World began to hold an essential part of the justification to rationalise slavery (Cox, 1959). Racial designation was constructed to maintain and strengthen the privileged position and economic interest (colonialism) of the Europeans, as Paul Spickard (2005:2) aptly puts, 'race is about power, and it is written on the body'. The idea of 'race' further assumes that each group develops its social organisation in isolation, and thus constitutes clear-cut linguistic and cultural group boundaries among different 'races' (Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1978; Emberling, 1997).

The notion of 'race' took on another representation with the rise of new nation-states, that is, a fictitious story to establish 'the myth of origin and national continuity' (Balibar, 1991:87), which Hudson (1996:258) calls 'the fruitful remarriage of 'race' and 'nation''. In this conceptualisation, 'race' not only embodies 'lineage' but also 'an innate and fixed disparity in the physical and intellectual make-up of different people' (ibid:258). The biological interpretation of race was discredited following WWII, a war which involved racially-based exterminations and this brought to the fore massively

destructive effects of racism, with the subsequent collapse of European colonial rule, the civil rights movement in America and influx of immigrants from former colonies into Western Europe (Rex, 1983). However, the approach of putting people into orderly categories took on another dimension with the emergence of the concept of 'ethnicity', which portrayed peoples as masses sharing a common language, a common culture and a common ancestry (Banton, 2001).

Ethnicity derives from the Greek word *ethnos*, corresponding to 'nation' and rather than referring to a political unity, the concept indicates a sense of belonging through blood ties (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). Despite the difficulty and complexity in defining the notion, ethnicity, in the primordial sense in particular, has been widely associated with a group of people connected with 'blood ties' and distinguished by shared cultural heritage, primarily including language, religion, and other elements of culture (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007). Geertz describes the view that assumes a tight and deep connection of ethnic groups with ancestral roots and cultural elements as 'primordial attachment', explicating that:

> By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens" – or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens" – of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices.
>
> (Geertz, 1963:109)

Primordial perception of ethnicity in the 1920s, the early years of the founding of Turkey, was widely embraced in the state definition of Turkishness, and state officials also applied the rhetoric of racial components blended with Turkish nationalism. For example, on the National Day of Youth in 1937, the interior minister addressed adolescents with these words:

> Turkish youth, you are the children of a strong and powerful nation. There is no bad legacy from your mothers and fathers in your nerves and veins.
>
> (Ergüven, 1937 cited in Ergin, 2008:296)

A similar racial discourse of 'nerves' and 'veins' was also used by the founder of the Turkish nation-state, Atatürk, in his address to Turkish youth[18], where he stated that 'the strength' that Turkish youth needed to protect the Turkish nation against enemies and traitors was present 'in the noble blood which flows in … [their] veins'. Ethnicity in this primordialist configuration, as Fishman puts it, 'is felt to be in the blood, bones and flesh … [as] ethnicity is experienced as a guarantor of eternity' (Fishman, 1996:63). Turkishness, in the eyes of the republican elite, was considered as given, fixed and ascribed at birth. This ethnic configuration, however, was not only confined to the

[18]Atatürk's address to the Turkish youth comprises the last part of 'The Speech' (Nutuk) that Ataturk delivered at the second General Assembly of Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası) from 15 to 20 October 1927.

assumed biological aspects of a putative Turkish 'race' combined with personal characteristics (e.g. nobility). Common cultural heritage, in particular language, was also considered a fundamental essence of Turkishness, regarding which Çağaptay (2002:72) points out 'in the minds of republican cadres, Turkishness was ... about language'. For example, Atatürk drew attention to the central role of speaking Turkish for being regarded as being a Turk in one of his speeches. He stated:

> One of the most obvious characteristics of a nation is language. A person who says that he belongs to the Turkish nation, should, primarily and absolutely, speak Turkish. If a man who does not speak Turkish claims his loyalty to the Turkish culture and community, it will not be correct to believe him.
>
> (as cited in Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004:423)

The statement clearly highlights that for the regime the Turkish language was a strong marker of Turkish national identity, and therefore a criterion for being classified a Turk. The emphasis on a unified national language (Standard Turkish) was being guided by the desire to create a uniform Turkish ethnicity (Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004; Aslan, 2007). Racial and linguistic components were exploited in an attempt to construct a unified and strong Turkish ethnic identity without any inner factions. However, as I will show later in my thesis, a number of distinct ethnic fragmentations forged during the history of the modern Turkish nation-state (e.g. Alevis, Kurds, and Turks) continue to exist and have an impact on subjects' everyday lives in Turkey as well as in the diaspora. I will return to the implications of these factions in more detail in Chapter 4.

In the British context, the term 'ethnic' was formerly used to disassociate the Anglo majority from migrant minorities, mainly black and brown subjects, from former colonies, who arrived in the heartlands of the Anglo and European world following WWII as workers for meeting the needs of the economy (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). The arrival of migrant workers resulted in a shift in discoursal classification, by which 'exotic tribes' in the New World were transformed to the 'ethnic minorities' in European metropolitan cities (ibid.). Attempts to draw impermeable ethnic boundaries between the white Anglo and migrant others were constructed at the discoursal and social level in the British society. In recent decades, however, this restricted and bounded conceptualisation of ethnicity that marginalises all ethnic minorities as 'the others' has eventually given way to more flexible interpretations (Harris, 2011). Social science has gone through a conceptual shift from the categorisation of human collectives based on essential biological or cultural grounds to treating classifications used to describe human activity in terms of social constructs. In other words, a substantial transformation has taken place in the conceptualisation of ethnicity as a result of 'the post-modern shift of interest away from identifying essences and locating them in classification systems, to analysing practices and the social processes of

categorisation themselves' (Harris and Rampton, 2003:4-5). The following section details this transformation to a hybrid and fluid reconfiguration of ethnicity with a particular focus on Hall's theory of 'new ethnicities' and why this type of conceptualisation is useful for providing greater insights into the ethnic identifications of the Hackney Youth.

2.3.2 Broader conceptualisation of ethnicities

When viewed from a restricted and bounded angle, ethnicity has been conceptualised in a way that confines the multi-faceted and diverse experiences, characteristics and behaviours of subjects to everlasting immutable essences. This was the case with black and brown migrants from former colonies who were conceptualised within frames of biological and cultural fixity, based on their skin colours and different cultural practices, on a daily basis in British society, after their arrival following WWII (Harris, 2003, 2006). This social phenomenon which Gilroy calls 'ethnic absolutism' is:

> a reductive, essentialist understanding of ethnic and national difference which operates through an absolute sense of culture so powerful that it is capable of separating people off from each other and diverting them into social and historical locations that are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable.
>
> (Gilroy, 1990:115)

Ethnic absolutism refers to the view that people belong to essentially different, permanent and fixed ethnic groups that construct their social engagements in isolation. However, the strictly established impenetrable boundaries that this social categorisation draws fail to represent the ordinary experiences of individuals. Theoretical frameworks capturing the mundane social engagements and interactions freed from essentialist blinkers need to look at social constructs from a broader angle. Hall's theorisation of new ethnicities is deemed to be a useful reconfiguration for making sense of the diverse and dynamic ways in which the ethnic notion Turkishness (and Kurdishness) might be lived out and experienced among the young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent.

It is noteworthy to mention at this point that the majority of research on ethnic minorities in British Cultural Studies has focussed on black and brown social actors and their experiences of coping with the racial aspects of ethnicity, whereas subjects related to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have rarely been represented in this terrain. This is mainly because these people do not fit the racial category of 'black', 'brown' or even 'white' (Enneli et al., 2005), and thus the racial element of ethnicity that British Cultural Studies has tended to focus on has not been concerned with them. However, some of the conceptualisations posited by Stuart Hall that expand the possibilities of what ethnicity might mean, in particular, in multi-ethnic cities like London, are relevant

to having a broader perspective on the ethnic identifications of the Hackney Youth. Contesting the rigid approaches to ethnicity that put people into fixed and stable classifications, Hall (1988, 1996) widens the spectrum by offering an open and plural conceptualisation 'so that it could be investigated as something capable of temporal and spatial change and emphasising its performativity and not its ascription' (Harris, 2003:4).

Recent studies on the so-called 'Turkish speaking' youngsters have shown emergent ethnic identifications that are broadly influenced by the wider British society, but not completely disconnected from their parental origins, are taking place among these young people (see Küçükcan, 1999, 2004). More than 20 years ago, Mercer explicated the idea of newly emerging hybrid compositions among young subjects living in Britain as follows:

> I suggest that the emerging *cultures of hybridity* [emphasis in the original], forged among the overlapping African, Asian and Caribbean diasporas, that constitute our common home, must be seen as crucial and vital efforts to answer the "possibility and necessity of creating a new culture": *so that you can live*. [emphasis in the original] ... In a world in which everyone's identity has been thrown into question, the mixing and fusing of disparate elements to create new, hybridized identities point to ways of surviving, and thriving, in conditions of crisis and transition.
>
> (Mercer, 1994:3-5)

Some of the abovementioned academic research and official publications have hinted at the emergence of hybridised linguistic (Communities and Local Government, 2009; Issa, 2006) and ethnic (Küçükcan, 1999, 2004; Robins and Aksoy, 2001) formulations among subjects having ties with Turkey and Northern Cyprus. As I will also illustrate later in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the Hackney Youth also has widely exploited the linguistic diversity of London to create their own hybridised practices. For example, the juxtaposition of linguistic elements of Turkish and English as well as the blending of traditional forms related to their parental origin (folk dance) with London-based youth identifications (fashion) are some of the ways in which novel and hybrid forms have been generated with influences from several cultural sources in this diasporic context.

Besides hybrid cultural practices, another change seems to have occurred within the so-called 'Turkish Speaking Community', i.e. the emergence of mixed-ethnicities, as implied in some publications (Enneli et al., 2005; Robins and Aksoy, 2001) and in the 2011 Census. According to the 2011 UK Census, the mixed-race category constitutes the 2.2 % of the total population of England and Wales. It also identified a high number of people of mixed-ethnicities living in the northern boroughs of London, 4.39 % of Haringey, 4.17 % of Hackney and 3.81 % of Islington, where people related to Turkey and Northern Cyprus are mainly concentrated (Atay, 2010; Griffiths, 2002). In line with this statistical data, I have had personal encounters with Turkish/Kurdish people who

are married to French, Pakistani and Italian Londoners. Among my focal research participants, the presence of individuals of mixed ethnic origin (one Turkish-Irish and one Kurdish-Turkish descent) further attests to the emergence of mixed-ethnic adolescents in these communities. It can therefore be argued that the narrow conceptualisations of ethnicity, as in an ethnically-absolute or nation-centric interpretation of Turkishness, are inadequate as they are unable to capture the rich variety of individual behaviours and experiences, particularly of multi-ethnic and multilingual youth in London. We need theoretical approaches that take us a step further from the strict boundary-line of ethnicity. Stuart Hall (1988, 1992, 1996) has offered a useful framework by pluralising the notion of ethnicity with his theorisation of 'new ethnicities', which has destabilised the definiteness about 'race' and ethnicity, by replacing it with a fluid, hybrid and unsettled conceptualisation of 'ethnicities'. Rather than founding on eternal essences passing down from solely kin or community, the underpinning theory increases the probability of temporal and spatial change by highlighting performativity (Harris, 2003, 2006, 2011; Harris and Rampton, 2009). In his plural approach to ethnicities, Hall emphasises **'**the politics of living identity through difference' as the core of his theorisation, which he explicates with the following quotation:

> It is the politics of recognizing that all of us are composed of multiple social identities, not of one. That we are all complexly constructed through different categories, of different antagonisms, and these may have the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination, but which do not yet operate on us in exactly the same way. (Hall, 1991:57)

Hall points out that the once imagined all-encompassing, uniform and homogenous collective identities were, indeed, located and stabilised by historical and social factors. The ramification of these factors – nation-states, sexism, racism and so on – decreased as the dominance of modernity diminished, but big collective identities have not vanished. These large constructs still persevere in influencing our lives, yet they are not interpreted in the same homogenous way. Their inner fragmentations and their inner disparity have become as important as their established homogeneity and unity (Hall, 1991). Based on these inner factions, Hall's theory concentrates on loosening the rigid ethnic categories within which multi-ethnic youth in Britain have been fixed and judged. Elaborating on Hall's theory of new ethnicities, Harris and Rampton describe this interpretation of ethnicity as:

> an approach in which ethnicity is regarded as something that people can emphasise strategically in a range of different ways, according to their needs and purposes in particular situations. [And,] in this 'strategic' view, ethnicity is viewed more as a relatively flexible resource that individuals and groups use in the negotiation of social boundaries, aligning themselves with some people and institutions, dissociating from others, and this is

> sometimes described as a 'roUtes' rather than a 'roOts' conception of ethnicity. Compared with its predecessor, this version gives more credit to free will and active agency.
>
> (Harris and Rampton, 2003: 5)

According to Harris (2011), Hall's 'new ethnicities' emphasises the role of agency and enables the possibility for subjects to go beyond the social structures that they happen to find themselves in and in which they are expected to remain forever. The emphasis on agency in 'new ethnicities' is essential in gaining understanding of the ethnic affiliations of subjects who do not shy away from the ethnic practices that notionally belong to them, nor do they stay away from taking part in the formulation of ethnic practices considered as new (ibid.). Harris (2006), Hewitt (1992, 2003) and Rampton (1995a) have documented the newly emerging linguistic and cultural practices among youth of Black Caribbean, Anglo British and South Asian descent in London, whilst Küçükcan (1999, 2004) and Issa's (2006) research has revealed the changing patterns of language use and cultural perceptions and behaviours among people who have links with Turkey and Northern Cyprus. These studies indicate emerging practices among London youth, which indeed tacitly destabilise the limited reconfiguration of ethnicity as well as the single national ascription: 'Turkish Speaking Community'.

In his theorisation of 'new ethnicities' which mainly focussed on 'the Black category' in the British context, Hall challenged the singular expression of 'the Black experience' and highlighted that enormously diverse set of social experiences, subject positions and cultural compositions constitute the classification of 'Black'. He further argued that:

> 'Black' is essentially a politically and culturally *constructed* category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed transcultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in Nature. What this brings into play is the recognition of the immense diversity and differentiation of the historical and cultural experiences of black subjects.
>
> (Hall, 1988:254)

Applying Hall's critique of the fixed and stable representation of 'the Black experience' to the homogenous and static concept of 'Turkish Speaking Community' in London, I argue that this title is a social and political construct that can be traced back to the period of the building of the Turkish nation-state. A myriad of religious, linguistic and ethnic components, indeed, constitute and constantly transform this ostensible uniformity, leaving 'no guarantees in Nature'. Therefore, for realistic research to be conducted, it must recognise the tremendous diversity and heterogeneity among people classified within this alleged unity, particularly among the younger generations in London.

While challenging the ascription of singular and stable nationalistic phrases to these adolescents living in superdiverse London, we also need to throw other discursively

constructed stable ethnic attributions into question. That is to say, rather than perpetuating the negative image of London youngsters related to Turkey and Northern Cyprus underachieving at school (e.g. Baykusoglu, 2009; Mehmet Ali, 2001), involving in gang activities (e.g. Thomson, 2006) and squeezing in between two cultures (e.g. Atay, 2010), other positive alternatives should be brought to light. As Gilroy notes:

> Largely undetected by either government or media, Britain's immigrants and their descendants have generated more positive possibilities. Other varieties of interaction have developed alongside the usual tales of crime and racial conflict.
>
> (Gilroy, 2006:27)

These positive probabilities alongside the 'new ethnicities' have yet to be 'discovered' (Hall, 1992:310) among adolescents who have links with Turkey and Northern Cyprus in the British context and can only be accessed 'with a rigorously anti-essentialist eye' (Harris, 2006:171). Seemingly rather easy, the discovery of new ethnicities with 'anti-essentialist eyes' that Harris emphasises is challenging and complicated, because 'new ethnicities … [i]s not very empirically based', as Hall (2006 cited in Harris and Rampton, 2009:100) admits. However, Harris and Rampton (2009) show that elaboration on the conceptualisation of new ethnicities formulated by Hall can be achieved through linguistic ethnography and the analysis of situated speech. Following Harris And Rampton, I explored the everyday language behaviour of a group of adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent in a London secondary school. A close look into their practices reveals the diverse ethnic affiliations and positionings of these subjects, who have been previously unhesitantly classified into uniform categories. The chapters examining the actual talk-in-interaction (as well as popular cultural practices) of the Hackney Youth provide important insights into the multiplicity and complexity of their ordinary performance displaying strong connections to their London-based lives as well as their parental origins in Turkey (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Stuart Hall calls this diasporic process 'translation' and explains that this

> describes those identity formations which cut across and intersect natural frontiers, and which are composed of people who have been dispersed forever from their homelands. Such people retain strong links with their places of origin and their traditions, but they are without the illusion of a return to the past. They are obliged to come to terms with the new cultures they inhabit, without simply assimilating to them and losing their identities completely. They bear upon them the traces of the particular cultures, traditions, languages and histories by which they were shaped. The difference is that they are not and will never be *unified* in the old sense, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, belong at one and the same time to several "homes" (and to no one particular "home"). People belonging to such *cultures of hybridity* have had to renounce the dream or ambition of rediscovering any kind of "lost" cultural purity, or ethnic absolutism. They are irrevocably *translated ...* They are the products of the new *diasporas* created by the post-colonial migrations. They must learn to inhabit at least two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them. Cultures of hybridity are one of the distinctly novel types of identity produced in the era of late-modernity, and there are more and more examples of them to be discovered.
>
> (Hall, 1992:310)

In his definition of translation, Hall aptly construes the experiences, feelings and practices that many diasporic subjects live out in the everyday – they feel attached to several homes, they have expertise in at least two named languages, they participate in the cultural activities of two different cultural milieux at least. This simultaneous and intertwined interaction with cultural products from multiple resources creates new forms of hybridised activities, which cannot be captured through fixed and permanent approaches to youth ethnicities. Hall (1988, 1992) invites researchers to delve into and 'discover' these diverse types of identifications formed and exercised in the flow of ordinary encounters with open and fluid workings of ethnicity. Brubaker (2005) argues that the 'types of identity in the era of late-modernity', which Hall details above, can be empirically scrutinised if the notion of diaspora is openly and broadly interpreted, as he details with these words:

> rather than speak of 'a diaspora' or 'the diaspora' as an entity, a bounded group, an ethnodemographic or ethnocultural fact, it may be more fruitful, and certainly more precise, to speak of diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on. We can then study empirically the degree and form of support for a diasporic project among members of its putative constituency, just as we can do when studying a nationalist project. And we can explore to what extent, and in what circumstances, those claimed as members of putative diasporas actively adopt or at least passively sympathize with the diasporic stance, just as we can do with respect to those who are claimed as members of putative nations, or of any other putative collectivity.
>
> (Brubaker, 2005:13)

Brubaker offers a useful analytic gaze to the study of subjects having diasporic connections, arguing that the focus should be on 'diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices' rather than the static view of the diaspora as a single known 'bounded group'. Following Brubaker's conceptualisation of the diaspora in the exploration of a group of youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent in London, I examined their ordinary language in use, popular cultural practices as well as explicit ethnic and political stances in and around a mainstream secondary school to provide greater understanding of their ethnicities produced in close contact with Turkey- and London-based influences. In this regard, language behaviour, through which social positioning (ethnic attachment, cultural affiliation, social class identification, language ideologies and so on) is implicitly signified or explicitly verbalised, is then central to understanding of the operation and negotiation of social constructs, in particular ethnicity. With a particular focus on the significance of language use in studying ethnicities, I will present flexible theorisation of language in the following sections of this chapter. But first, I will briefly discuss the linguistically problematic facet of the term 'Turkish Speaking Community' and how it masks the linguistic heterogeneity within this stable title.

2.4. The problem of language

In my research, I paid special attention to language as a key component of ethnicity, following Fishman's view (2001) that language is a crucial signifier of it. The singular linguistic construct 'Turkish Speaking Community', indeed, indicates the importance of language in ethnic debates. The sections above have displayed the hegemonic angle of this umbrella term with regard to its coverage of a myriad of ethnic identifications of youth in multi-ethnic settings. The following sections, on the other hand, will focus on the problematic aspect of this notion from a linguistic perspective and discuss other unrestricted ways of interpreting language behaviour in ethnically diverse contexts like London.

To start with, the linguistic concept, 'Turkish Speaking Community', fails to represent the linguistic repertoires of multiple ethnicities hidden beneath its singular ascription. The term automatically assumes everybody from mainland Turkey and Northern Cyprus to be 'Standard Turkish' speakers and overlooks the actual linguistic repertoires of adolescents who have grown up in London and are conceptualised within this category. In practice, this homogenous title in the London context involves one or more of the following linguistic resources: a) Standard Istanbul Turkish, b) other non-standard varieties of Turkish depending on the speaker's family trajectory and social class, c) Cypriot Turkish, d) Quranic Arabic, e) Standard English, f) London vernaculars, g) linguistic resources from other languages and technologies in contact (Lytra and Baraç, 2008), h) Kurdish (Zaza and Kurmanji) and even i) Pomak[19]. This tremendous linguistic heterogeneity within an alleged Turkish ethnic singularity has not been sufficiently dealt with in UK social science research and my study aims to contribute to this sorely neglected area.

The umbrella term, 'Turkish Speaking Community', implicitly favours Standard Turkish over other non-standard varieties of Turkish and languages spoken by people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus[20]. This linguistic attitude derives from the fact that Standard Turkish was represented as a symbol of nationhood and oneness, whereas other ethnically marked languages, e.g. languages used by Kurdish people, were regarded as a threat to this unity until the last two decades in Turkey. The construction and promotion of Standard Istanbul Turkish is historically grounded in the

[19]Pomak is a language spoken by Slavic Muslims living in southern Bulgaria, northern Greece, Turkey and some other Balkan countries. One of my female participants, Hilay, whose mother is ethnically Turkish from Greece, claimed a limited competency in Pomak. She said that although her mother generally spoke Turkish at home, she learnt some Pomak during visits to her mother's family on summer holidays in Greece.

[20]Although it might be claimed that the notion, 'Turkish Speaking Community', does not prioritise Standard Istanbul Turkish, including all the linguistic resources used by people within this speech community in an equal manner, I argue that it puts an implicit emphasis on the standard variety. This is particularly because of the historical and political developments in Turkey, where the term, 'Turkish', in the linguistic sense indicates the most prestigious Standard Istanbul Turkish, as broadly discussed in the chapter.

period of the foundation of the Turkish nation-state. The following will briefly delineate the historicity of the creation of Standard Turkish.

2.4.1. The emergence of 'Standard' Turkish

The building of Standard Istanbul Turkish can only make sense in the historicity of post 1923, when the Turkish state appeared as a nation-state in the world arena and established the modernist ideology regarding this that needed a common culture to form a so-called unity. Language, in the Kemalist elite's eyes, thus, was the most vital instrument to construct their imagined society on the grounds of a shared standard language (Anderson, 1983). The first attempt in the standardisation of the Turkish language[21], adopted by 'expert voices' (Blommaert, 1999), was to drop the Arabic and adopt a Latin-based alphabet[22]. Later, Istanbul Turkish, the variety spoken, particularly by the elite, was chosen as the standard variety of Turkish and Arabic and Persian words were replaced with their Turkish equivalents (Çağaptay, 2004, 2006). The ideology behind the denial and amendment of the linguistic inheritance of the Ottoman Empire was a reaction to the image of 'the Turk' perceived as primitive and vulgar as drawn in the West (Aslan, 2011; Yıldız, 2001; Zucher, 2010). Following in the footprints of Western European nation-states, republican intellectuals made the assumption that language alone could adhere Turkish citizens together and hence, secure the borders (Aslan, 2011; Çağaptay, 2006). As a result, any movement seeking the linguistic freedom of minorities was suppressed and perceived as a threat of separatism. This can be best exemplified with the ban on the use and publication of the languages spoken by the Kurds (Zaza and Kurmanji) for decades, which was eventually lifted in 1991. The effects of this linguistic ban on Kurdish speakers can be sensed even today in Turkey and in the diaspora. For example, in my ethnographically informed research, all of my participants of Kurdish descent, excluding Baran, clearly stated that they could only understand the Zaza or Kurmanji spoken by their parents or grandparents to a very limited extent, but they could not speak these registers. In fact, Zaza and Kurmanji were two of the least visible linguistic resources in my data set. Despite there being seven informants of Kurdish origin and a large set of data, involving approximately 127 hours of naturally occurring data, 12 hours of interviews and 10 hours of retrospective interviews, I captured only 8 incidents in which Kurmanji was actually used.

[21]Before the adoption of Standard Turkish, there used to be an official language of the Ottoman Empire, 'Ottoman Turkish', which consisted of many words from Farsi and Arabic. Ottoman Turkish was spoken by mainly the educated segment of society. The Empire had no official programme to spread the use of its language among its citizens through formal education or other channels. Each ethnic community was allowed to use their language in their formal institutions (schools, religious institutions and so on).
[22]On 1 November 1928, the Arabic alphabet was dropped and a modified version of the Latin alphabet was adopted. In public discourse, although the new alphabet was seen as a necessity to raise the literacy rate, it was nothing but an ideological break with the Islamic Ottoman past and an attempt to be a part of the 'modern' West (Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004).

Language loses its communicative purpose and becomes more than 'just language' (Blommaert, 1999) whenever it is associated with nationalist 'myths' (Jaffe, 1999). What the Turkish state did was simply to transfer the 'one language for one nation' ideology from the Western World to the newly founded Turkish state by ignoring the multi-ethnic and multilingual nature of the Ottoman Empire. This 'Herderian[23]' vision of the world resulted in 'direct or indirect forms of conflict and inequality among groups of speakers: restrictions on the use of certain languages/varieties, the loss of social opportunities when these restrictions are not observed by speakers, the negative stigmatisation of certain languages/varieties, associative labels attached to language/varieties' (Blommaert, 1999:2). However, the exercise of linguistic constraints within the newly founded state did not bring about the formation of the imagined Standard Turkish speaking Turk. The failure of the creation of 'a Turk' speaking solely Standard Turkish can be illustrated by the linguistically heterogeneous nature of the Turkish language varieties used in Anatolia, Thrace and the diaspora, as well as the common use of Arabic, Zaza, Kurmanji and other small scale languages, such as Laz and Greek, even now, ninety-three years after the founding of the Turkish nation-state.

I have portrayed a wide picture of the ways in which monolingual ideologies of the Turkish state were established and affected a wide range of speakers with different linguistic repertoires other than Standard Istanbul Turkish. I have also described the linguistic heterogeneity in contemporary Turkey and in the diaspora despite the long-standing efforts to reinforce and promote this officially recognised variety alone. I now focus on the issue of language standardisation in the Turkish case and its reflection in the diasporic setting of London.

2.4.2 Turkish language standardisation

According to Bourdieu (1991:287), 'language is itself a social artefact invented at the cost of a decisive indifference to differences which reproduces on the level of the region the arbitrary imposition of a unique form'. The imposition of a unique form, Bourdieu notes, is the process of language standardisation, a common politically oriented phenomenon in nation-states. Milroy (2001:530) states that standardisation consists of 'the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects'. Language standardisation, therefore, is achieved through an imposition of uniformity on language, which is variable rather than uniform in nature. One of the most essential characteristics of a standardised variety is prestige. That is, the standard variety takes its highest rank in the education and public domains situating other varieties as

[23]Herder is a German philosopher who supported the idea that nations should be established on the solid elements of language and culture in the eighteenth century. The romantic European nationalism, a Herderian view of the nation, formed by one people and one language (Bauman and Briggs 2003), has become an important aspect of nation-states.

vernacular therefore not being suitable for certain roles and jobs. This attitude disqualifies particular linguistic resources as inappropriate and unacceptable in certain contexts. Up scaled language varieties, by contrast, receive entitlement and enfranchisement in the sociolinguistic regime; these linguistic forms become the emblems of elite identities and roles (Blommaert, 2007a).

Standardisation develops a sense of correctness among the speakers of that language. Whoever uses it differently from the standard variety is believed to use it in an erroneous way (Milroy, 2001). This sense of correctness has often been promoted and disseminated through institutional settings. By way of illustration, the following quotation exemplifies the prestige and correctness that an educational institution in London accords to Standard Turkish:

> Artun Bey (the teacher) asks the class to identify the fruit pictured in the market stalls in their textbook, Yıldız and Berna shout out "ıspanak, salatalık" <spinach, cucumber> He queries their suggestions: "Bunlar meyve mi? Onlar sebze" <Are these fruit? These are vegetables>. They then discuss the pronunciation of "sebze" <vegetables>. Some of the children, including Berna, have been pronouncing "sebze" as "zebse" and Artun Bey corrects them. This does not go down well with Berna. She insists that the correct pronunciation is "zebze" arguing that that's the way her mother pronounces the word. Artun Bey has this to say: "Annelerimiz öyle diyor ama doğrusu sebze" <our mothers may say it that way but the right way is "sebze">.
>
> (Lytra and Baraç, 2008:37)

The characteristics of standard languages given above explain Artun Bey's inclination to correct the pronunciation of 'zebse' with the standard 'sebze' in a complementary school[24] in London, regardless of its common use by Turkish speakers. In many non-standard Turkish varieties the phoneme /s/ can be pronounced /z/ in daily linguistic practice. It is therefore not uncommon to hear the standard Turkish word *sakız* (chewing gum) being pronounced as 'zakız'. Taking her mother's language practice as a reference point, Berna challenged the authority of standard Turkish language ideology, which indeed fails to reflect the daily language use of many people from mainland Turkey and Northern Cyprus. Upon being contested by Berna, Artun Bey protected the norm of the standard version and further noted that our mothers might say 'zebse', but only 'sebze' is correct (Lytra and Baraç, 2008). In Chapter 5, I will also demonstrate some of the ways in which the Turkish teacher in the school where I carried out the research adopted linguistic correction as a strategy for promoting Standard Turkish. Maintaining the highest prestigious position in education and bureaucratic settings, Standard Turkish invalidates other varieties of Turkish, depicting them as inappropriate and incorrect, as has been discussed (see also Creese et al., 2007; Lytra, 2011, 2012). It can then be broadly argued that languages adorned with

[24]Complementary schools, also known as 'supplementary' or 'community' schools, are voluntary organisations which support the linguistic, cultural and religious heritage of minority communities, particularly through language classes (Creese et al., 2008; Lytra and Baraç, 2008).

the properties of correctness and prestige are considered as stable, finite-state entities. These assumptions no doubt are not the properties of languages, but they are the properties of idealised states of languages, in other words, of standard languages (Milroy, 2001).

It should, however, be borne in mind that the Turkish case is not a unique exemplar; on the contrary, many other nations have gone through similar processes. Sharing similarities with the Turkish case, Indonesia's development of a standard national language in order to take part in the modern world resulted in it adopting a supposedly culturally 'neutral' national language. This national linguistic construct was deemed necessary because of the tremendous linguistic diversity of the country (Errington, 1998). Similarly, Bokhorst-Heng (1999) describes how the Singaporean state launched language campaigns and used schools as a means of making Mandarin the community language of ethnically Chinese Singaporeans in 1957, less than 0.1 % of whom spoke Mandarin as their home variety. These cases and many others stem from the regimented conceptualisation of language indexing a group of people in a nation or territory. Such restricted interpretations of language, however, fall short of explicating the habitual language behaviour of individuals. Before moving on to reflexive approaches to language, which focus on language in use rather than homogenous language ideals adopted by nation-states, so as to illuminate and analyse the speech of the Hackney Youth, I will present some of the language ideologies operating among 'Turkish' speakers.

2.4.3 'Turkish' speakers' language ideologies

Scholars in linguistic anthropology have explicated their views on language or language ideologies in a number of ways. Silverstein (1979:193), over three decades ago, defined one of the most commonly cited definitions of language ideologies as the 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use'. Irvine (1989), however, insists that language ideologies should not be confined to linguistic structure and practice only. They should also take into account the socio-cultural perspectives operating in that domain. She describes language ideologies as, 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading moral and political interests' (ibid:255). Irvine suggests a multi-layered view of ideas about language in which moral judgements, social perceptions and of course politics are all involved to a certain degree.

Language ideologies are a diverse set of views adopted by a wide range of speakers to perform linguistic activity, evaluate and assess values, and at basic level, to engage

in interaction (Field and Kroskrity, 2009; Kroskrity, 2004). In this regard, Kroskity (2004) pays attention to the language ideological variation (by age, gender, class and so on), arguing that social, political and economic variations trigger diverse approaches towards language use/practice or view. It is, thus, more practical to adopt analytical definitions that encompass diversity and multiplicity rather than uniformity or sharedness. Language ideologies explore variation in ideas and communicative practices and investigate the effects of this dynamism on linguistic and social change (Field and Kroskrity, 2009). They refer to both the discourses that attribute value to linguistic structure and the practices and processes, which in turn, create social difference and inequality among social actors (Woolard, 1992). The following interview excerpt from Lytra (2012) exemplifies how Turkish speakers are well aware of the social evaluations ascribed to varieties of Turkish. Feride Hanım, a migrant from Turkey with a limited access to formal education (primary school only), explains the reason for sending her child to a Turkish complementary school:

> Feride Hanım: There is a difference between everyday normal speech and educated speech ... he [Feride Hanım's son] becomes more educated more knowledgeable. He experiences things, he sees things. Unlike our speech, he speaks differently.
>
> (Lytra, 2012:7)

Feride Hanım, who migrated to London from a village in Turkey and received limited formal education, accords positive ascriptions to speakers of schooled Turkish because, she thinks, they sound 'more educated' and are 'more knowledgeable'. Giddens (1984) argues that when the uneven distribution of resources is perceived as ramification of wider socio-economic processes, ideologies about language, such as evoking beauty, knowledge, superiority or illiteracy, can be better analysed. Feride Hanım is aware of the fact that her non-prestigious linguistic resource will not provide her son with a high status in the social world, as it does not for her and thus, she is satisfied with her son's acquisition of this up scaled, in her words 'educated', linguistic behaviour. As this example shows, linguistic resources are attributed some conventional values and linked to certain frames of interpretation (Gumperz, 1982), which make relations of power and status central to understanding language ideologies. As I will discuss in my analysis of the multiple and multi-layered facet of Turkish language ideologies adopted by parents, teachers and the Hackney Youth in the school setting, social evaluations of linguistic varieties play an important part in how linguistic hierarchies are exercised in this institutional setting (see Chapter 5). A limited number of earlier studies have also examined the language perceptions and practices of the so-called 'Turkish' speakers in London, which I briefly describe below.

2.4.4 Research on the linguistic behaviour of 'Turkish speakers' in London

Youngsters with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have not been adequately represented in UK social science research, and this can be strongly seen when it comes to their linguistic practices as well as their language ideologies. Apart from a few studies (e.g. Issa, 2006 regarding the language use of Turkish Cypriot women; Lytra and Baraç, 2008 in relation to youngsters in complementary school), the situated language use of these people has hardly been empirically investigated. It can thus be claimed that my research breaks new ground in being an ethnographic inquiry concentrating on the ordinary linguistic behaviour of youngsters of Turkish/Kurdish descent in a multi-ethnic secondary school context in London.

Studying the language in use of five women of Turkish Cypriot descent in a hair salon in London, Issa (2006) adopted an ethnographic perspective to explore their talk-in-interaction in a workplace. The element of an ethnographic approach combined with the analysis of natural speech makes his research pioneering in the sense that no previous work focused on the everyday talk of this ethnic group. Issa (2006:83) found out that 'language use in the Cypriot Community ... is changing increasingly to adapt new sociolinguistic paradigms'. This research provided evidence that Cypriot Turkish is undergoing a linguistic transformation in relation to the selection and organisation of sentences in the London context. According to Issa, this linguistic process within the Turkish Cypriot community should be regarded as, what Dirim and Hieronymus (2003:42) have termed, a 'mixed language' – linguistic patterns adopted to express the new experiences of people living in multi-ethnic urban areas – rather than assimilation with the dominant linguistic register.

Creese et al. (2008) conducted wide-ranging research that explored multilingualism in complementary schools in four communities in the UK (ESRC, RES-000-23-1180), including Turkish complementary schools (see also Creese et al., 2007). Audio-recordings of interactions between teachers and students along with interviews with stakeholders including students, parents, teachers and other administrative staff as well as observations were used to gather data about the multilingual activities in Turkish complementary schools. The findings of this ethnographically informed case study project have been published and discussed in several publications and articles, which I briefly outline below.

Based on the data findings of the above project, Creese et al. (2007) discussed how Turkish complementary schools' aspiration to reproduce the principles of Turkish 'national' culture and identity is accomplished through the teaching of Standard Istanbul Turkish. They suggested that although multilingualism was prevalent among both

teachers (Zaza, Kurmanji, Azeri and other varieties of Turkish) and students (Cypriot Turkish, other varieties of Turkish and English), the teachers expected the students to use the standard form of Turkish alone during lessons. The students appeared to meet the teachers' expectation by consciously selecting their linguistic resources in different contexts (e.g. home vs. complementary schools), whilst interacting with different participants (e.g. interacting with adults vs. interacting with peers).

Analysing the fine-grained data from the abovementioned research, Lytra (2011) looked at the teaching of Turkish language and culture through the medium of songs in the curriculum in Turkish complementary schools. She pointed out that children blended various language varieties of English, Turkish and youth language with diverse semiotic resources (whistling, humming etc.) linked to different genres (*Türkü, Arabesk*[25] and Turkish-German hip-hop) and cultural practices emanating from Turkey, Northern Cyprus, the existing Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish communities in London as well as other transnational communities. Lytra (2011) argued that the cultural practices stemming from these diverse sources appear to be positioned in the 'here and now' rather than the historical era of the Ottoman Empire or the early republican period as portrayed in complementary schools.

Drawing on data from the abovementioned research project, Lytra (2012) scrutinised parents' attitudes towards Standard Turkish and other varieties of Turkish as well as the cultural and personal values accorded to them. She found that parents had a tendency to favour Standard Turkish by portraying this variety as 'clean/proper', which in turn pushed the other regional and diasporic varieties of Turkish to the peripheries as 'unclean' (see Chapter 5 for similar ideologies voiced by the parents in my research field). As she illustrated, some parents were well aware of, and satisfied with, complementary schools' role as being centres for the dissemination and promotion of Standard Turkish. Additionally, she showed how some parents and children compared their linguistic fluency and competence against a 'native' speaker norm originating from Turkey and Northern Cyprus, which evoked the feelings of 'shame' or 'pride' depending on the level of 'competency' and 'fluency' in the Standard Turkish language. In contrast to this general perception, Lytra (2012) also demonstrated the counter ideologies employed against the linguistic hegemony of Standard Turkish in these complementary school settings. Some parents, particularly those who engaged in political activities to promote and spread the Cypriot Turkish language and culture, contested the negative representation of their variety and offered an alternative approach in which Turkish

[25] *Türkü* refers to folk songs emerging from music traditions within Turkey; *Arabesk* is a type of music which carries influences from the Arabic music style (see Chapter 7 for more on *türkü* and *arabesk*).

Cypriot ethnic elements (linguistic and cultural) were recognised and regarded as a part of self-identification.

In another publication based on the data from the same research project, Lytra and Baraç (2008) explored the ways in which the 'Turkish speaking' adolescents benefitted from a diverse set of linguistic resources by constructing self-positioning in complementary school settings. They found that, on the one hand, the teachers recognised the different sets of linguistic repertoires of the young people, which included Standard English, Standard Turkish, Quranic Arabic, other languages formally learnt at school, regional and diasporic varieties of Turkish (Cypriot Turkish and other varieties used in Anatolia), London English and youth language (linguistic features emerging from popular culture, technology and urban multicultural peer groups). On the other, the teachers showed an aversion to any of these linguistic resources being engaged during lessons apart from Standard Istanbul Turkish. As a reaction to this dominant standard language ideology, Lytra and Baraç (2008) discovered that young people adopted subtle and intricate ways of acknowledging, and at the same time challenging, these institutional linguistic ideologies. The authors observed that the students moved beyond the institutionally ascribed identities and pre-determined language hierarchies by demonstrating their wide range of linguistic resources in their interaction with their teachers and peers.

All of these studies have scrutinised the functioning and role of the linguistic resources that people related to Turkey and Northern Cyprus exploit in their social lives in particular contexts in London. Apart from Issa's (2006) research, which analysed the mundane speech features of a group of women of Turkish Cypriot descent in a hair salon, all the other publications were concerned with talk-in-interaction in classroom settings in Turkish complementary schools. I acknowledge the contribution of these empirical studies to the very limited literature on the language behaviour of subjects with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. As shown above, some of them questioned the prevalence of the standard form of Turkish in Turkish complementary schools in which students deployed a diverse set of linguistic resources (e.g. Creese et al., 2007; Lytra and Baraç, 2008), whereas others investigated how parents responded to the dominant Turkish language ideologies perpetuated in these institutional contexts (e.g. Lytra, 2012). In a different setting from all of these previous studies, I conducted my research in a multi-ethnic secondary school in North London with a particular focus on a group of adolescents of Turkish and/or Kurdish descent. I delved into their everyday language in use (recording 127 hours of natural speech, as aforementioned) in and around the school through an ethnographic approach (participant observation over a period of one year) to provide greater insight into their actual talk. My project differs

from the previous empirical studies in two respects: i) no previous research looking at the mundane talk of the concerned ethnic groups has been carried out in a multilingual secondary school setting and as a result, ii) linguistic multiplicity, for example stylisation, language crossing, and the influence of Turkish on the linguistic locality (see Chapter 6 for the local multi-ethnic vernacular), captured and broadly illustrated in my ethnographic research has not been documented before[26]. Understanding the complex and intricate linguistic resources of youngsters participating in the social activities of a multilingual context requires flexible and open theoretical approaches to language. The following details the theories and perspectives on youth language in superdiverse contexts on which I have largely drawn to interpret the talk-in-interaction of the Hackney Youth.

2.5 Language studies in superdiversity

As has been mentioned earlier, the unifying term 'Turkish Speaking Community' prioritises Standard Turkish over other non-standard varieties of Turkish and the ethnically marked languages of Kurmanji and Zaza (Kurdish languages). It also tacitly excludes the linguistic resources of adolescents that have been created in the linguistically diverse space of London. It is thus not an easy task to explore the situated language behaviour of the Hackney Youth with static and uniform linguistic constructs such as 'Turkish Speaking Community'.

Studies conducted in the multilingual contexts of Europe, particularly in the last two decades, have emphasised that young speakers simultaneously use a complex set of linguistic varieties at their disposal in order to negotiate their self-positionings, to exclude and include other language users and to affiliate or disaffiliate with other group members (e.g. Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Dirim and Hieronymus, 2003; Harris, 2006; Jaspers, 2011a, b; Jorgensen, 2008b; Rampton, 1995a, b). Therefore, I need more flexible and dynamic theoretical approaches that will allow me to capture the linguistic diversity within what has been commonly conceptualised as a homogeneous, fixed and stable community, the so-called 'Turkish Speaking Community'. 'Linguistic repertoires' (Blommaert and Backus, 2011), 'polylingualism' (Jorgensen, 2008a, b) and 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995a) are some of the theoretical frameworks that I have found useful in tackling the complexity at hand.

[26]Based on a broad internet search (Google scholar, ethos and King College London databases) that I carried out to find the research on the language practices of young people who have ties with Turkey, I can claim that no study has investigated the situated language use of these mentioned groups in a secondary school context. Research conducted in London secondary schools concentrated on either their educational achievement (e.g. Jones, 2014) or 'identity formation processes' (Faas, 2009). These studies do not pay attention to the situated linguistic behaviour of these adolescents.

2.5.1 Deconstruction of the notion of 'a language'

The notion of 'a language' itself is very problematic (Jorgensen, 2008a), because the alleged homogeneity within one is constructed at the expense of erasing differences that form this assumed linguistic unity and singularity. The fixed conceptualisations of language as a whole, bounded, and pure system as well as individuals within stable communities as in-group and out-group relations determined by boundaries, have been accepted as the ideological constructions of the nation-state (Anderson, 1983; Blommaert, 1999; Taylor, 1990; Woolard, 1998). The historical background of the emergence of Standard Istanbul Turkish outlined earlier in the chapter (see 2.4.1 above), has shown how the implementation of idea of 'a language' has resulted in the suppression of regional varieties of Turkish and the languages spoken by the Kurds (and other ethnic minorities) as well as the creation of 'a Turk' speaking Standard Turkish alone. The terminological ramification of such homogenised and bounded configurations of languages and communities, i.e. 'speech communities', comes from a modernist view of the world that social organisations and language use are tightly interlinked (Rampton, 2000). As Bloomfield notes:

> A speech-community is a group of people who interact by means of speech … All the so-called higher activities of man – our specifically human activities – spring from the close adjustment among individuals which we call society, and this adjustment, in turn, is based upon language; the speech-community, therefore, is the most important kind of social group.
> (Bloomfield, 1935:42 cited in Jorgensen, 2003:4)

As the definition indicates, the notion holds assumptions about the connection between origins, upbringing, linguistic competence and language forms. This evokes a strong sense of boundedness and sharedness within a community in which a singular and unified set of linguistic norm prevails (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). The term 'Turkish Speaking Community' serves this purpose by promoting the alleged existence of a bounded 'Turkish' people speaking Standard Istanbul Turkish alone in Turkey as well as in the diaspora. However, '[t]he assumption that speech communities, defined as functionally integrated social systems with shared norms of evaluation, can actually be isolated [is] subject to serious question' (Gumperz, 1982:26). Questioning the limited interpretations of language, Heller (2007:1) stands 'against the notion that languages are objectively speaking whole, bounded, systems' and instead, she conceptualises language as a practice in which speakers 'draw on linguistic resources which are organised in ways that make sense under specific social circumstances'. What Gumperz and Heller argue above is that the ideologically defined formulations of communities and languages fail to represent the linguistic and social experiences of individuals (Heller, 2008; Jorgensen, 2008b; Leung, Harris and Rampton, 1997; Rampton, 2000), particularly in multilingual contexts like London.

The hegemony of the static definitions of social constructs, e.g. language, community and so on, has been widely shaken but not completely eradicated (Hall, 1991). Boundaries are now less obviously fixed and stable, being more fluid and ambiguous, thanks to what Vertovec calls 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007). This phenomenon 'diversification of diversity' has been the consequence of the rapid movement of people from one place to another, which has complicated the predictability of 'the other', not only with regard to their nationality or religion, but also their legal status, educational background, and so on (Vertovec, 2010). The improvements in information technology, which has led to the widespread use of the Internet and mobile phones, has brought about a variety of social and cultural changes in the world, particularly in the local and translocal organisation of the diaspora. As a result, modernist terminologies, such as 'Turkish Speaking Community', no longer offer much analytic purchase to sketch the uncertain, hybrid and dynamic formations in which linguistic practices take a major part (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). This brings forth the need for more nuanced reconfigurations of language that will take us further from the bounded, stable and fixed national languages towards the real linguistic experiences of multilingual subjects. The notion 'linguistic repertoires' is one of the theoretical frameworks that aims to reflect linguistic plurality and hybridity.

2.5.2 Linguistic repertoires

The origin of the one of the core concepts of sociolinguistics, namely, 'linguistic repertoires', can be traced back to John Gumperz's (1964:137) notion of 'verbal repertoire', which he referred to as 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction'. Almost a decade later, he used the term 'linguistic repertoire' and defined it as 'the totality of linguistic resources (i.e. including both invariant forms and variables) available to members of particular communities' (Gumperz, 1972, 1986:20). Blommaert and Backus (2011) suggest that a strong relationship between a language and a community based on a common ground and sharedness was formed in Gumperz's conceptualisation of repertoires. For this reason, they argue that the concept, in a way, denotes linguistic 'competence' and 'knowledge' and thus, needs reformulation to reflect the linguistic practices of subjects in superdiversity.

In their reinterpretation of the term 'linguistic repertoires', Blommaert and Backus (2011) break the presumed link with origins, upbringing or competence, by including all linguistic resources within biographical trajectories constituted in actual histories. This dynamic term is useful for my study because it contests the modernist view of language and offers an efficient tool for investigating the language resources of superdiverse

subjectivities. Linguistic repertoires recognise that subjects are in direct or indirect contact with a wide range of groups, networks and communities, in particular, in multilingual settings and their linguistic resources are constituted through a vast range of trajectories and technologies, including formal language acquisition as well as informal 'encounters' with language (ibid.). Linguistic repertoires accommodate differing levels of knowledge of language from sophisticated language use in a variety of contexts to their simple recognition. The acknowledgment of all linguistic resources in a repertoire, what Blommaert and Backus (2011:2) describe, as a 'functionally distributed … patchwork of competences and skills', indeed, destabilises the link between language and community. Incorporating this novel approach to language into my research focussing on the young people categorised under modernist and homogenous phrases allows me to take into consideration the diverse linguistic behaviour of the Hackney Youth.

Another essential aspect of repertoires is the dimension of power that draws attention to the trajectories subjects take throughout their lives: the constraints, opportunities, reasons behind their physical movement, inequalities and the educational institutions they attend (or could not attend) (Blommaert and Backus, 2011). For instance, a Kurd's common use of Turkish with a Kurdish accent and the use of English at an elementary level, sufficient to interact with customers, say at a kebab shop, offers clues on the constraints and physical movements the subject has gone through. This low-ranked truncated linguistic repertoire, the Turkish learnt at school in Turkey spoken with the accent of the Kurdish learnt at home, and the inclusion of basic English knowledge for economic reasons in later stages in life, indexes the limited formal education the subject has taken as well as the working-class background of this individual. In sum, by attending to each linguistic item in the repertoires, we can find the traces of power that have impacted upon, and even shaped, the social identifications of subjects.

The profound shift from an essentialised conceptualisation of language within linguistics, to a more flexible perspective that reflects 'lived' linguistic and social experiences of subjects in linguistic ethnography, has been a lengthy on-going process. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) maintain that linguistic anthropology owes this novel approach to language to some developments in language studies. I will incorporate the concepts *crossing and polylingualism* as essential elements into my study.

2.5.2.1 'Crossing' and 'polylingualism'

A focus on the situated interaction among youth from diverse backgrounds in Western Europe has revealed their creative and artistic linguistic performances using

linguistic resources that notionally do not belong to them (Auer and Dirim, 2003; Hewitt, 1992, 2003; Kallmeyer and Keim, 2003; Rampton, 1995a). Alongside their home and national standard languages, these young people appear to align themselves with the linguistic features of other ethnic groups, new media and popular culture. Scholars have termed this creative and artful linguistic practice 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995a) and 'polylingualism' (Jørgensen, 2008a).

Looking into the linguistic behaviour of adolescents in a multilingual London school, Rampton (1995a) found out that young people used languages that did not 'belong' to them, but rather 'belonged' to some of their peers from different ethnic backgrounds. For example, students, who had a certain amount of Panjabi repertoire as a result of their family ties, used linguistic items from Caribbean Creole despite their limited expertise in it and vice versa. As mentioned above, Rampton calls this linguistic behaviour by adolescents 'crossing', which occurs in, what Rampton (1995a:193) characterises as, 'moments when the ordered flow of social life and normal relations c[an]not be taken for granted'. In these moments young people can contest the dominant norms and values of the wider society despite their general awareness of and obedience to these rules (ibid.).

It is noteworthy to mention that none of the heavily cited studies that have probed the language use of Londoners of Turkish and/or Kurdish (as well as Turkish Cypriot) descent has reported the occurrence of crossing in their research[27] (e.g. Creese et al., 2008, 2007; Issa, 2006, 2008; Lytra and Baraç, 2008). These studies might have not found the linguistic behaviour of 'crossing' as they were conducted either among women of a singular ethnic formation in a work setting (e.g. Issa, 2006) or in complementary schools among children from Turkish Cypriot, Turkish or Kurdish backgrounds only (e.g. Creese et al., 2007). My research conducted in a multi-ethnic London secondary school demonstrates how the Hackney Youth adopted lexical items and speech features from Panjabi/Gujarati, the registers that 'belonged' to their friends of South Asian descent. In addition, these adolescents performed stylisation by utilising the stereotypical connotations ascribed to SAE (South Asian English) in negotiating their social relationship with their peers (see Chapter 6 for more on 'crossing' and 'SAE').

Jorgensen's notion of 'polylingualism' offers another useful concept in exploring the language use of superdiverse subjects, which he defines as follows:

[27]As I mentioned earlier, I carried out online database research, using ethos, King's College London database and Google scholar, and I did not come across any single article or unpublished research reporting the occurrence of linguistic crossing among people with ties to Turkey or Northern Cyprus in the UK. However, several linguistic studies conducted in other Western European countries have documented the use of Turkish by non-Turkish speakers (e.g. Dirim and Hieronymus, 2003 (Germany); Jorgensen, 2008b (Denmark).

> Language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together.
>
> (Jorgensen, 2008a:143, 2008b:163)

Polylingual behaviour can function in a variety of ways: from greetings to self-identification, from inviting others to social interaction and in constructing social distance (Jorgensen, 2008a, b). The prevailing adoption of polylingual language use among adolescents in multilingual settings in Europe (see Harris, 2006; Hewitt, 1992, 2003; Jorgensen, 2008a; Rampton, 1995a), for Jorgensen (2008a:147), 'is in itself an instance of language change, but it is also an indication of changing language norms'. By this, he means, the common use of polylingual behaviour in superdiverse contexts demonstrates the dismantlement of the traditional European romantic nationalism that links a language to a people. As I will detail in Chapters 5 and 6, the Hackney Youth engaged in hybrid speech style juxtaposing features from diverse versions of Turkish, London Cockney[28], the Panjabi/Gujarati lexicon and Jamaican Creole forms in their mundane talk, thus disturbing the dominant modernist view of a language.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented my theoretical approach to the conceptualisation of ethnicities, challenging assumptions about the given and fixed description of the term 'Turkish Speaking Community' and offering plural and fluid alternatives to those ethnicities experienced by young subjects in superdiverse London. Firstly, I have argued that the major sources contributing to the prevalence of this umbrella term in the UK are official discourses and campaigning literature, which widely portray heterogeneous people as members of a uniform and monolithic community. I then emphasised that this readily adopted nation-centric classification fails to grasp the diverse ethnic attachments of Kurds and Turkish Cypriots, as well as the younger generations' fluid and ambivalent ethnic identifications. I also highlighted the inadequacy of the rigid and static conceptualisations of Turkishness, as in the label 'Turkish Speaking Community', and the need to bring out dynamism and complexities by engaging with broader configurations of ethnicities. For this reason, I drew on Stuart's Hall's (1988, 1992) theorisation of 'new ethnicities' to have greater insight into the Hackney Youth's ethnic affiliations, framed and reframed anew in the multi-ethnic context of London. With its broader perspective to diaspora identifications, the 'new ethnicities' theory provides alternative ways of construing the nuanced and multi-faceted meanings attached to Turkishness (as well as Kurdishness) in the UK. Hall's

[28]Cockney traditionally refers to people who are born in East London within the sound of Bow Bells (St Mary-le-Bow Church). However, in my research it refers to a distinctive London working-class form of speech.

theoretical conceptualisation, however, lacks the empirical angle of constructing a link between the theory and the mundane lives of subjects to whom it is referring. Harris and Rampton (2009) argue that the gap emerging from the absence of an analytic perspective and methodological framework in Hall's theory can be filled through the scrutiny of everyday linguistic practices. Language use, for this reason, is treated as an important marker of ethnic identification in my research.

In order to be able to construe the youngsters' ordinary language behaviour, I began the argument by pointing out that the linguistic complexity at hand cannot be dealt with using a limited definition of a language that recognises the standard form alone. Hence, I have utilised flexible theorisations of language, such as 'linguistic repertoires' (Blommaert and Backus, 2011), 'polylingualism' (Jorgensen, 2008a, b) and 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995a), that question the assumed links with origins and competence and take into account every component in the language repertoires. The theoretical frameworks I have presented in the chapter are central to providing insights into the hybridised and complex linguistic resources of the Hackney Youth, as I will explain in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6. The most suitable methodological approach to exploring the everyday linguistic (as well as cultural) practices of the adolescents in understanding their ethnicities is ethnography. In the following chapter, I will discuss my methodological underpinnings of how an ethnographic perspective in conducting this empirical research has made it possible for me to investigate youth ethnicities.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCHING TURKISHNESS/KURDISHNESS ETHNOGRAPHICALLY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter details the methodological path I adopted as well as the challenges and issues I faced in exploring the linguistic and cultural practices of the Hackney Youth in a London secondary school setting, when I sought to gain a close understanding of the ethnic meanings they attached to Turkishness and Kurdishness. In order to investigate the depth of their situated social interactions and actions in the everyday, I drew on an ethnographic approach that enabled me to capture a rich portrayal of the nuanced ways in which these adolescents demonstrated their affiliation to different versions of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities.

Ethnography has not been widely adopted as a methodological perspective in previous research scrutinising the cultural, ethnic and linguistic attachments of London subjects, who have ties with Turkey and Northern Cyprus (although see Creese et al., 2008; Çavuşoğlu, 2014; Issa, 2006). Interviews supported with statistical data through surveys are the most prevalent research tools utilised in these studies (see e.g. Enneli et al., 2005; Faas, 2009; Küçükcan, 1999; Robins and Aksoy, 2005; Simsek, 2013). As I discuss in detail below, the socially constructed category of ethnicity cannot be fully grasped by means of interviews and surveys alone (see Harris and Rampton, 2009; Tremlett and Harris, 2016). In this regard, Back (2009:212) points out that 'social research needs to reduce its over-reliance on interviews and embrace the opportunities to re-think its modes of observation and analysis'. Hence, a broader view regarding everyday engagements and interactions is needed to unfold how actors experience these social formations in the flow of their ordinary lives. Ethnography is the most suitable research methodology to gain a fuller understanding of the social dynamics in a given context through the close relationship ethnographers establish with the people studied (see Agar, 1996; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Heath and Street, 2008). For this reason, I adopted an ethnographic approach while investigating the ethnic identifications of a group of young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent, with a particular focus on their ordinary linguistic behaviour and popular cultural practices. I will provide a detailed rationale of why ethnography is crucial to my research and how I utilised this methodology to study youth ethnicities, but first I will give a succinct description of my access to the field site, the initial problems I came across and my strategies for tackling them.

3.1 Access to, and at, the research site

Gaining access to a research field is not always an easy task, particularly if the research is conducted in settings controlled by gatekeepers. It took me several months, a vast amount of email exchanges and phone calls to get access to a London secondary school that was willing to allow me to spend time with, observe and record the speech of a group of adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent. I commenced the school 'hunt' by making a list of secondary schools that might have a large number of students of Turkish Cypriot, Turkish or Kurdish descent in North London. I then sent email messages to and phoned each of them explicating my research agenda in detail in the hope of receiving a positive response. Meanwhile, I also got in touch with several teachers (mainly through social media) working in London schools to ask if they could help me find a research site. After all my efforts, I never heard from any of them; not even with just a straightforward 'no'. Eventually, my supervisor got in touch with an acquaintance of his working as a teacher in a secondary school in the Hackney area of London, where a high number of people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus reside. The teacher agreed to meet me and introduce me to the EAL (English as an Additional Language) department to find out more about my research. The members of staff in the EAL department, all of whom had been recruited to work with ethnic minority youth in the school, warmly welcomed me and expressed their keen interest in my research as well as asking me to provide several official documents (Criminal Records Bureau checks and ethical approval granted from King's College London) before I could begin the actual fieldwork.

Heath and Street (2008:29) note that 'to undertake ethnography is to enter willingly into a … set of tasks that will continue over a considerable period of time among strangers'. As a novice researcher inexperienced about the operation of the British education system, during the first two weeks in the school, where more than 700 students were registered at the time of data collection, I felt completely lost as everything seemed very chaotic and alien. In this respect, Hammersley and Atkinson note that:

> The initially exploratory character of ethnographic research means that it will often not be clear where, within a setting, observation should be begin, which actors need to be shadowed and so on.
>
> (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:4)

As a first step, I decided to prepare a list of Year 9/10 students, whom I presumed were of Turkish Cypriot, Turkish or Kurdish descent, using the information provided on

the student database[29] (based on their name/surname/ethnicity), and composed a timetable for myself to observe at least one potential participant each lesson[30]. Within the first month of my fieldwork, in particular, I came across serious challenges, which, at times consumed all my energy and sometimes led me to question whether I would be able to recruit any informants to carry out the actual study. For example, some teachers refused to accommodate me in their classrooms, despite my being introduced by a member of the EAL department (by one of the Kurdish teaching assistants). Moreover, the students on which I intended to focus, either did not turn up for class or were taken out of class for various reasons and most of them seemed to be concerned about my presence owing to not knowing my role in the classroom. Such constraints were gradually overcome in the following weeks by avoiding the teachers who preferred not to have 'strangers' in their class and by explaining my role as a researcher as well as the nature of the research project to the teachers and students in more detail.

The ethnographer gets deeply involved in the field for a period of time and engages with subjects in the flow of their ordinary lives, thus constructing personal relations with them (Agar, 1996). As my time spent in the field passed, my relationship with the potential participants, in particular, with the female informants, grew stronger. They gradually began to signal their acceptance of me by sitting next to me during lessons and responding to my smiles and greetings. In order to allay their fears about my constant presence around them, I made it very clear to the Hackney Girls that I was just a researcher interested in what school was like for young people with ties to Turkey and that I had no official relations with the school. Russell (2005:185) underlines that 'mutual disclosure' between the participants and the ethnographer helps to establish trust. That is, the author refers to not only the participants, but also, the ethnographer sharing parts of his/her life during an ethnographic inquiry. The youngsters were naturally curious about my age, religious/ethnic background and marital status and how/why I had selected this particular school as the focus for my research. I gave an honest and detailed reply to all of their queries, assuring them that the data collected (fieldnotes, speech and interview recordings) would be dealt with based on the principles of anonymity and confidentiality. It took me almost two months to establish a strong rapport with them to the extent that I was allowed to stroll around the school at lunch breaks with them, sit at the same table in the canteen, and listen to their conversations about their boyfriends, family issues and troubles with their teachers. On the other hand, my relationship with the boys developed in a different direction. Despite

[29]The head of the EAL department provided me with a password and a user name that enabled me to access to the student database, which included detailed information about students, e.g. date of birth, address, ethnicity, photo, and so on.
[30]Rather than observing one potential participant for the whole day, I followed a different student, or more than one to lessons ranging across physical education, English, photography and religious education.

all my efforts, the boys continued to signal their uneasiness about my presence, keeping their distance to a maximum level and trying to avoid any possible contact. Heath and Street (2008:31) note that 'ethnography forces us to think consciously about ways to enter into the life of the individual, group, or institutional life of the 'other''. During my observations, I came to find out that some of the boys were struggling with simple calculations, formulas and experiments in science lessons as well as with understanding the core themes in poems in English literature. In order to create an environment that would enable us to get to know more about each other and break the ice between us, I subtly offered my help to the approachable ones and indulged in daily conversations in between the school tasks. My relationship with the boys grew stronger with the passage of time, but in comparison to the close rapport I established with the girls during our visits to the nearby cafes, restaurant and park, they tended to maintain their boundaries, refusing to attend any after school activities with me. This orientation limited my observation of the boys' linguistic and cultural activities to the classroom setting only.

The path to recruiting the focal participants was varied. For example, Baran (Kurdish descent, m) agreed to take part in my research as soon as I explicated my project to him. As a young man, who liked to show off and stand out from his peers, displayed his bravery by wearing the radio-microphone and implicitly accusing others (e.g. Hakan, Gencay and Ufuk) of cowardice due to their serious concern about being recorded. The girls, on the other hand, seemed to find the idea of becoming part of a research project and wearing a radio-microphone rather interesting and even special, despite their initial hesitance. When they saw their friends roaming around the school with a radio-microphone on, other girls came to me and expressed their willingness to take part in my study. Eventually, I managed to recruit 13 young people of Turkish/Kurdish descent (5 boys and 8 girls) to participate directly in my research, all of whom had at least one interview with me and carried the radio-microphone for varying amounts of time. The table below presents information about my focal participants[31].

[31]Table 1 presents the focal participants only. For a full list of the people involved in my research, see appendix g.

Table 1

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic affiliation	Hours wearing microphone (approx)
Gamze	F	16	Kurdish	11.5
Aliye	F	16	Kurdish-Turkish	6
Didem	F	16	Kurdish	6
Baran	M	16	Kurdish	25
Hakan	M	16	Kurdish	6
Hilay	F	16	Turkish	3
Gencay	M	16	Turkish	4
Zirav	F	16	Kurdish	16
Sema	F	16	Turkish	17
Nuray	F	16	Turkish	5.5
Shanley	F	16	Turkish-Irish	13
Ozan	M	16	Kurdish	10.5
Ufuk	M	16	Kurdish	3.5

Table 1 shows that approximately 127 hours of naturally occurring speech data were collected. As a researcher fully aware of my obligations in the ethical sense, I paid attention to my research participants' rights at every stage of my study. Below, I describe the ethical principles that guided me throughout the research process.

3.1.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethnographers work with human subjects, thus they have a heavy responsibility for carrying out the research project on moral and ethical grounds (Mertens, 2012). Although a 'tick box approach to ethical standards … as a means of ensuring informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, reliability and validity, represent[s] ethics as an abstracted consideration' (Birch et al., 2002:5), certain standards to guide the researcher in protecting the rights of the subjects involved are necessary. Prior to data collection, I obtained ethical approval from the Education and Management Research Ethics Panel at King's college London[32]. With the principles of ethics in mind at every step of the research, I did my best to protect the identities of my participants and thus, used pseudonyms along with not revealing any raw data to anyone apart from my supervisor[33].

According to the research guidelines of the National Children's Bureau, 'the term 'children' is taken to include young people to the age of 18' (NCB, 2006:6). As all of my research participants were below the age of 18, their consent as well as that of their parents were obtained[34]. The informant sheet included information about the purpose of my research, my contact details and the rights of the participants written in clear and

[32]In the application, I was asked to provide detailed information regarding the number and age of the participants, the setting, potential issues that might arise during data collection, data storage, and so on. Despite the fact that ethical considerations for every type of study are crucial, ethnographic research mostly takes place in an unfamiliar context(s) with 'strangers', thus it is very difficult to predict every aspect of the research process before its implementation.

[33]There was, however, one occasion on which I had to seek the help of a Kurdish friend of mine to translate and transcribe speech uttered in Kurmanji (Kurdish). My friend listened to the relevant part of the interaction only and no information regarding the speaker was given.

[34]See appendices a, b and c for the information sheet/consent form for parents, students and teachers.

plain language. However, the informed consent was not an unproblematic procedure. For example, some of my male participants refused to wear the radio-microphone and have interviews with me even after they and their parents had signed the consent form. Although initially I was disappointed by their unexpected behaviour, I never put pressure on them, made every effort to gain their trust and responded to their queries about my research. Eventually, my patience and commitment paid off, and the boys expressed their willingness to participate in the research. Miller and Bell (2002:61) argue that "consent' should be ongoing and renegotiated between researcher and researched throughout the research process', and my experiences with this group of adolescents also showed the importance of constant negotiation of the roles and responsibilities of the ethnographer in relation to the participants. Denzin points out that if:

> a researcher … builds collaborative, reciprocal, trusting, and friendly relations with those studied, [t]his individual would not work in a situation in which the need for compensation from injury could be created.
>
> (Denzin, 1997:275)

The continuing care I showed in establishing a strong relationship based on mutual trust saved me from potential trouble that could have been arisen. For instance, if I had not negotiated this process carefully and if the adolescents had felt threatened and disturbed by my presence as a result, they could have complained about me to their teachers and parents[35]. This would have put my research at risk considering the delicacy of ethnic (Turks vs. Kurds) and religious (Alevi vs. Sunni) factions within the community. My Sunni-Turkish identification indexed by the way I looked (the headscarf) and the way I spoke (dialect of the Aegean region and Standard Turkish) might have aroused suspicion among the Hackney Youth affiliating with Alevi and Kurdish identifications.

This brief description of my attempts to gain access to the field and to recruit participants outlines the initial but essential steps I took to having a closer look at the day-to-day activities of a group of adolescents in a North London school setting through an ethnographic lens. Ethnography was the most suitable research methodology for uncovering the profundity of some of the situated social interaction and wider practices of the Hackney Youth. Green and Bloome (1997:183) suggest that there are three different ways of conducting ethnography in education: by 'doing ethnography', by 'adopting an ethnographic perspective', and by 'using ethnographic tools'. In this research, I adopted an 'ethnographic perspective', which means:

[35]I met some of my participants' parents during my data collection period. The youngsters showed no sign of panic or uneasiness about their parents' encounter with me, which was probably because they were confident that the secrets they expressed in their interviews with me and speech recordings would not be revealed to anyone.

> that it is possible to take a more focussed approach (i.e., do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnography perspective is the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology of sociology to guide the research.
>
> (Green and Bloome, 1997:183)

As aptly put, an ethnographic perspective explores the microscopic details of particular aspects of the lives of informants and makes them meaningful in light of the theories emerging from social sciences. When exploring the talk-in-interaction and popular cultural engagements of my research participants with an ethnographic perspective, I particularly concentrated on their social engagements inside school (classroom, canteen, sports hall, computer rooms and workshop) and outside the school premises (nearby kebab shop, barber's shop, restaurant and park) during and after school hours. Their social lives apart from these contexts, e.g. weekend activities and home setting, were not the focus of my research.

As has been detailed in the previous chapter, as a researcher, I acknowledge the insufficiency of the singular and bounded ethnic designations used to define the ethnic identifications of youth in multi-ethnic London and treat the concept of ethnicity as open, fluctuating and flowing, following Hall (1988, 1992, 1996). In this reconfiguration of ethnicity, subjects are no longer stabilised by genetic endowments passing down from generation to generation, but rather, they are investigated in terms of how they perform daily practices together with other members of society. As the focus shifts from biological attributions to everyday practices, language use and routine activities are of perennial importance to the delineation of adolescents' ethnicities. The only viable way to access the situated linguistic and popular cultural practices of young people is to embrace an ethnographic perspective. The detailed analysis of their complicated and subtle actions achieved through the data collected by means of ethnography then presents grounds for relating them to the wider theoretical debates around youth ethnicities and language use. In the following section of this chapter, I delve into the significance of an ethnographic perspective in assisting my research into how ethnic identifications manifest themselves within the mundane social encounters of the Hackney Youth.

3.2 Why ethnography is important

The majority of previous UK research studies on subjects who have connections to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have sought the answers to the questions of language and ethnicity using quantitative methods (surveys) or interviews alone without further observation concentrated on their actual daily performances, as mentioned earlier. Those studies that have examined youth ethnicities (Küçükcan, 1999); serious social

and economic problems with which young 'Turkish' and 'Kurdish' Londoners deal on a daily basis (Enneli et al., 2005); and the educational underachievement of the so-called 'Turkish speaking youth' (Baykusoglu, 2009; Mehmet Ali, 2001), have heavily relied on survey and interview findings. With a few exceptions that have focussed on the ongoing language ideologies in Turkish complementary schools (Creese et al., 2008; Çavuşoğlu, 2014; Lytra, 2011, 2013) and Turkish Cypriot women working in a hair dresser's shop (Issa, 2006), ethnography has not been embodied as a widespread research method used to investigate the linguistic and ethnic identifications of youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent in the UK. In order to overcome the methodological limitations of previous research and to offer greater insight into how these youngsters manifest their sense of Turkishness/Kurdishness in a mainstream London secondary school, I have taken an ethnographic approach concentrating on their social interactions as well as the ordinary practices.

The richness of ethnographic data, in Geertz's (1973) words 'thick description', derives from the ethnographer's immersion in the social world where the subjects constantly frame and activate meanings within complex structures. Thick description presents a full image of the context, including the intentions, connotations, practices and so on that construct social formations. This is achieved through an 'emic' perspective in which events are portrayed from the insider's point of view (see Agar, 1996; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Heath and Street, 2008). In my research process, my 'partially' emic and insider positioning, emanating from my ethnic and linguistic background, made it possible for me to access certain formulations of Turkishness/Kurdishness at the field site. As a Turkish person, born and raised in Turkey, I am aware of the official configurations of Turkishness and can also speak Standard Istanbul Turkish as well as a particular regional variety used in western Turkey. This cultural familiarity allowed me to understand the social meanings attached to particular forms of speech in relation to what Turkishness/Kurdishness might mean for these young Londoners. Some of the previous researchers who have investigated youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent might be regarded as having been disadvantaged given that their linguistic and ethnic backgrounds are different to those of their research participants, e.g. Angela Creese, White British and Vally Lytra, Greek origin. Having said this, my 'partial' emic perspective also means that my upbringing in Turkey positions me as an outsider in the London context, where my research participants were oriented towards diverse linguistic and cultural practices considered as 'unfamiliar' by those living in Turkey. In my initial encounters with the young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent, I sometimes found it difficult to understand their London-inflected speech blended with Cockney as well as Jamaican Creole features, but as the

time spent with them passed, I became more familiar with the way they used their diverse linguistic repertoires (see Chapter 6). However, I noticed that for people who come from Turkey, the language spoken by Londoners with ties to Turkey is considered to be extremely puzzling and odd. For example, one of my Turkish friends who had recently arrived in London asked me the reason why Turkish people (she meant Turkish speakers) in London speak Turkish in a 'strange' manner by juxtaposing a different accent of English into their Turkish sentences. She seemed very puzzled and even shocked to hear the Turkish language spoken on the streets of London. This unfamiliarity and strangeness experienced by Turkish people from the mainland that also influenced me, particularly in the initial stages of my research project, reflects my partially emic perspective at the research field site.

Ethnography is a social research methodology that aims to understand and construe dynamics and complexities in a particular context whilst subjects go about their ordinary lives (Hammersley, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). According to Blommaert (2007b:682), 'good ethnography is iconic of the object it has set out to examine, it describes the sometimes chaotic, contradictory, polymorph character of human behaviour in concrete settings'. As I briefly outlined in the introduction, Turkishness is a complex, multi-faceted and ambivalent social construct deeply embedded in Turkish nation-state ideologies. Understandings of how adolescents in contemporary London interpret and experience this notion requires deep immersion in their everyday linguistic and cultural practices in which social classifications, including Turkishness, are negotiated, contested and reframed in their ordinary encounters. This profound involvement in the field through an ethnographic perspective allowed me to have a broader sense of the nuanced meanings of Turkishness among a group of young Londoners with ties to Turkey.

Ethnography seeks to explain the seemingly complicated activities that form social action, not to constrain their complexity, but rather, to clarify them through the voice of those it studies (Blommaert, 2007b; Blommaert and Jie, 2010). In this case, it gives a voice to young Londoners, who have been narrowly described as 'Turkish speakers', 'Turkish' or 'Kurdish', by bringing out the intricate and multiple nature of their ethnic affiliations. According to Hymes' (1996:4) terminology, ethnography is a 'democratic' procedure that Blommaeart (2009:266) argues, makes ethnography 'counterhegemonic'. This is because not only does it challenge established norms in society, but it also gives voice to the subjects on the periphery. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994:249) also point out that ethnography is a dynamic process of contestation and confrontation to 'heterodoxies', thus allowing ethnographers to achieve this by disassociating themselves from 'mainstream' orthodoxy. The

counterhegemonic facet of ethnography, which helps destabilise the fixed and stable formulation of Turkishness, renders it the most suitable methodology for my research in revealing the multiplicity and plurality of the meanings attached to this ethnic notion in the London context.

In his theory of the emergence of 'new ethnicities' in multi-ethnic societies, Hall (1988) underlines the dynamism of youth ethnicities shaped and reshaped in negotiation with ongoing social processes, whilst also accepting that the 'new ethnicities' theorisation he has developed 'was not very empirically based' (Hall, 2006 cited in Harris and Rampton, 2009:100). Harris and Rampton (2009) argue that an analysis of daily conversation captured through an ethnographic perspective can be an effective empirical way of identifying the kinds of stances and positioning relating to ethnicity as theorised by Hall. Consequently, the ethnographic approach adopted for this research makes it possible to build on 'new ethnicities' as a theoretical stance by providing empirical support for the theory.

Ethnography offers a unique way of scrutinising social interaction and human behaviour in a particular context in depth (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). It requires active participation of the ethnographer in the field, because under this optic the view is that knowledge about the social world can be accessed through close involvement in it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This direct involvement produces rich and detailed data to make sense of complex social acts to the extent that no other social science research methodology can achieve. Although I deemed that an ethnographic perspective was the most useful way to explore the ethnic identifications of young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent as they went through their everyday lives, it had some limitations. The following discusses some constraints related to ethnography and how I addressed these in my research.

3.2.1 Critiques of ethnography

Ethnography aims to provide an insightful portrayal of the dynamics in a particular context by scrutinising the meanings attached to people, resources, events, institutions and so on. Ethnographers immerse themselves in the field they seek to understand by participating in mundane activities happening in that locality (Hymes, 1996). This feature of ethnography is uniquely distinctive from other research designs; however, ethnography comes with its constraints and risks. There are three widespread criticisms directed at the common practices of ethnography. Firstly, it has been criticised for falling short of giving solid grounds for generalisation beyond the restricted number of cases that the researcher describes (Hammersley, 2006). Secondly, it is accused of exaggeratedly emphasising micro details and overlooking larger social and

historical processes (Hammersley, 1992). Finally, the ethnographer's major degree of involvement in each step of research raises the questions of his/her partiality and subjectivity during an ethnographic inquiry (Hammersley, 1990). Regarding my research, I acknowledge the validity of these critiques and the challenges they posed for the collection and analysis of data, but I still argue that an ethnographic approach is central to my research when aiming to grasp youth ethnicities in a multi-ethnic landscape like London. Microscopic elements of naturally occurring speech, e.g. pronunciation, intonation and hybrid talk, as well as of popular cultural practices, e.g. singing and dancing, forms of daily performances through which the Hackney Youth implied their ethnic attachments, would have never been obtained if I had not pursued an ethnographic perspective.

The first criticism directed at ethnographic methodology is that an ethnographic inquiry cannot include large samples and multiple contexts, as scientific and quantitative research does, due to time and resource factors (Jeffrey and Troman, 2004).Thus, the small number of participants and context in ethnographic research can be seen as an impediment to generalising findings beyond the individuals worked with (Hammersley, 2006). As a reaction to such a direct equation of ethnography with scientific methods, LeCompte and Goetz (1982:32) argue that 'ethnographic research differs from positivistic research, and its contributions to scientific progress lie in such differences'. That is, the idea of numerical generalisation expected to be encountered in quantitative research is of little relevance to ethnographers interested in developing new insights into social issues and theories (Schofield, 2002). Ethnographers immerse themselves in the field with certain questions and theories in mind, paying attention to relationships, speech features, behaviours, structural formations and so on in a context for a certain amount of time (Hymes, 1996). During their active participation in everyday activities, particular patterns stand out in a rather prominent and repetitive manner upon which ethnographers build their claims. In my ethnographic research, for example, a particular non-standard Turkish phoneme, the uvular /q/, occurred hundreds of times in the everyday talk of the Hackney Youth (see *K-backing* in Chapter 6). The claims made with regard to the prominence of this linguistic feature are based on numerical facts. However, when I touched upon a socially-significant phenomenon, for example, the tacit political contestation between the participants affiliating with Turkish and Kurdish identifications, I focused on moments and events in which my research participants' ethnic stances became salient (see Chapter 4). Some of these incidents and conversations took place several times only, yet they had enormous significance for exemplifying a claim through ethnographic findings. In sum, the basic

assumption that generalisability in quantitative research can be applied precisely to qualitative research is of little help to ethnographic research.

Ethnography has been criticised for attending to microscopic elements, thought of as being insignificant and evanescent and thus, disregarding the influence of broader social and historical processes (Hammersley, 1992). I would argue, to the contrary, that attention to the fine-grained details of language use and popular cultural practices contributes to an understanding of the ways in which adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent are ethnically, linguistically and culturally positioned in superdiverse London. Focussing on the microscopic details of their ordinary acts is a crucial part in making sense of larger social structures. As I have mentioned earlier, previous research has readily adopted the ethnic terms 'Turkish' or 'Kurdish' without fully explicating how subjects experience these macro designations in their lives, mainly because of the methodological limitations involved. In the subsequent chapters, I will broadly illustrate that the scrutiny of micro details with an ethnographic look has assisted me in revealing a range of social positionings, which exist within the notions of Turkishness and Kurdishness in this contemporary North London context. For example, the adolescents' explicit expressions with regard to their ethnic and political affiliations uncover the factions buried under the unified term 'Turkish Speaking Community' in London (see Chapter 4). In addition, the employment of hybrid language use offers an insight into the multi-faceted and nuanced nature of their ethnic identifications constantly reconfigured in the multilingual and multi-ethnic landscape of London (see Chapter 6). The study of youth ethnicities with an ethnographic lens by concentrating on habitual speech forms and popular cultural activities demonstrates the significance of micro details for understanding the broader social processes and constructs (Blommaert, 2009; Blommaert and Jie, 2010). In this regard, Geertz argues that ethnography:

> draw[s] large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics.
>
> (Geertz, 1973:28)

Another critique directed at ethnography emanates from the major involvement of the ethnographer in the research procedure, thereby causing concerns about the impartiality of such social science research (Hammersley, 1990). Dey (1993:15) suggests all data, irrespective of methodology, are 'produced' by researchers themselves and this is because they are the ones who choose the research design, setting and perspective, which in turn help to 'create' the data collected. In other words, partiality is an unavoidable aspect of an ethnographic inquiry and the only viable way for researchers to tackle this issue is to accept this feature when undertaking this method of investigation. According to Cameron et al.:

> Researchers cannot help being socially located persons. We inevitably bring our biographies and subjectivities to every stage of the research process and this influences the questions we ask and the ways in which we try to find answers.
>
> (Cameron et al., 1992:5)

As social subjects, we, as researchers, are influenced by the events that historically and politically locate us in multiple perspectives. For this reason, Heath and Street remind us that ethnographers should no longer play the role of an 'innocent ethnographer' (2008:34), who is purified by all presumptions before striding in the field. They further argue that 'reflexivity, rather than innocence, characterizes contemporary ethnography' (ibid.). Hymes also emphasises the unavoidability of partiality and the need for reflexivity, with these words:

> There is no way to avoid the fact that the ethnographer himself or herself is a factor in the inquiry. Without the general human capacity to learn culture, the inquiry would be impossible. The particular characteristics of the ethnographer are themselves an instrument of the inquiry, for both good and bad. For good, it is important to stress, because the age, sex, race or talents of the ethnographer may make some knowledge accessible that would be difficult of access to another. For bad, as we all recognize, because of partiality. Since partiality cannot be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in interpretation. The conditions of trust and confidence that good ethnography requires (if it is to gain access to valid knowledge of meanings) make it impossible to take as a goal the role of impartial observer.
>
> (Hymes, 1996:13)

Hymes aptly states that without human involvement understanding social life is an 'impossible' task, but this is not always a negative feature of an ethnographic inquiry. The characteristics of the ethnographer, such as age, sex as well as ethnic and linguistic background, may in fact make it easier to access particular kinds of data. Earlier in the chapter, I briefly mentioned that my familiarity with the dominant ideologies around the notion of Turkishness as a result of my ethnic (Turkish) and linguistic (Turkish speaker, standard as well as a dialect used in western Turkey) background assisted me to access forms of speech and everyday practices, while studying how the Hackney Youth experienced Turkishness and Kurdishness in this diasporic setting. My age, 28 at the time of data collection, had an additional advantage to fitting in the friendship group of my 16 year old research participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:76) note that 'age will have a bearing on the kinds of relationships established and the data collected'. I noticed that my age (my petite look as well as casual dressing style) played an important role in gaining access the adolescents' social networks. Some of my participants said in a jocular manner that if I had had the school uniform on I would have looked like one of them. Their saying this in fact hints at the significance of my appearance in being part of their social circle. To sum up, subjectivity is an inevitable facet of an ethnographic inquiry that arises from its ultimate instrument – the human researcher (LeCompte, 1987). However, this should not be regarded in such a way that ethnographic research is a mere reflection of the

ethnographer. Hammersley (1990:608) underlines that the descriptions to be framed should be guided above all by a commitment to 'truth'. The notion of 'truth', in this regard, corresponds to satisfying the reader with confidence and trust that what is being described is what is being experienced in the field (Hymes, 1996).

Ethnography, like every other research method, certainly can be constraining in some ways – the limited number of participants and contexts and the enormous amount of time needed to collect and analyse data. However, no other social science research methodology could offer me the depth and richness of data and possibilities for understanding the small mundane linguistic and semiotic behaviours' relation to the ethnicities of the Hackney Youth. That is, I adopted an ethnographic approach to get a close insight into these young people's ethnicities activated and processed in their everyday social encounters. This in-depth analysis could only be accessed by means of the ethnographic data collection tools that I exploited to investigate the social interaction and popular cultural activities of the Hackney Youth in their secondary school setting in London.

3.3 Ethnographic data collection tools

My research was aimed at construing the social meanings that particular activities and language use carry in an attempt to understand what Turkishness/Kurdishness might mean for a group of young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent. Therefore, I scrutinised the habitual linguistic and popular cultural practices of these adolescents in relation to their ethnicities in a multi-ethnic London secondary school by employing an ethnographic approach. I captured the situated actions of a group of 13 focal adolescents through the ethnographic data gathering methods of participant observation, fieldnotes, interviews and recording of naturally occurring interaction.

3.3.1 Participant observation

As has been detailed in the previous sections of the methodology chapter, ethnographers have the goal to find out 'what is happening here in the field site(s) I have chosen?' (Heath and Street, 2008:31). In order to understand how the Hackney Youth experienced their ethnic identifications in the multi-ethnic space of London through an ethnographic look, I decided to adopt a participant observer role by 'being-in-the-world' of these adolescents (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994:249). The engaging first hand involvement of the ethnographer in the field positions him/her as a participant observer, extending beyond watching 'behind the glass' to locating the researcher, straightforwardly, in the research setting as a participant (Murchison, 2010:13). For, the ethnographer seeks 'a deeper *immersion* in others' worlds in order

to grasp what they experience as meaningful and important' (Emerson et al., 1995:2). This 'immersion' allows the researcher to observe individuals' daily experiences from an insider perspective (ibid.). This type of participant observation, for Goffman, involves:

> subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation.
>
> (Goffman, 1989:125)

Goffman succinctly, but aptly, explains the deep immersion ethnographers subject themselves in order to enter into and become a part of the everyday world of individuals in a particular cultural setting so as to have broad insight into social meanings that daily activities carry. In order to achieve this deep involvement with the Hackney Youth, I visited the school on 112 days (approximately 600 hours) during my data collection of period of one year (May 2013 - June 2014), with the actual data collection being conducted within the first seven months[36]. I tried to use every possible opportunity to spend time with these youngsters ranging from having dinner and a picnic, joining them on their breakfast and lunch breaks, going to the nearby park for a walk to celebrating their birthdays. I also positioned myself near my focal research participants in the classroom and workshop, where I could easily observe their social engagements as well as communicate with them. Most of the time, I sat at the same table with them. Such a deep immersion provided deep insight into their mundane practices loaded with social indices, thus signalling what Turkishness/Kurdishness might mean for these Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent.

My close participation in their mundane actions not only produced rich data that led to clear understanding of the social dynamics among the Hackney Youth in this mainstream secondary school, but this also meant that I was the 'ultimate' instrument through which the data were acquired, maintained and interpreted (Heath and Street, 2008:57). That is to say, the data collected and analysed were 'highly conditioned by the biography and experiences' of the researcher (Brewer, 2000:99). As I mentioned earlier, I acknowledge that my self-positioning in this social world – the experiences that constantly transform 'who I am' today, e.g. my linguistic (Standard Turkish and regional dialect of western Turkey), ethnic (Turkish), social class positioning, political stance and religious (Sunni) affiliation – could well have affected my implementation of the research, as well as the interpretation and analysis of the data. But, as Hymes (1996:16) mentions above, the personal characteristics of the ethnographer 'may make

[36]Whilst the main data collection was carried out during the first seven months (May - December 2013), after this period, I sometimes visited my research participants for retrospective interviews and to attend school-organised events.

some knowledge accessible that would be difficult of access to another'. Moreover, I argue that my awareness of the political and ethnic circumstances in Turkey alongside my linguistic and ethnic background facilitated access to certain kinds of data. However, my subjective positioning in the field also influenced my research participants' perception of me and thus, the data obtained. On some occasions, I noticed that the Hackney Youth ascribed to me particular social identifications based on the semiotic and metalinguistic signs I embodied in the everyday. For example, some of the informants of Kurdish origin sometimes switched to Standard Turkish, deliberately avoiding the (stigmatised) linguistic features associated with Kurdish ethnicity in my presence and during naturally occurring speech recordings. This linguistic tendency was probably concerned with my occasional use of Standard Turkish at the field site as well as my ethnic and educational background in Turkey – an educated Turk from West Turkey (see Chapter 5). Similarly, the youngsters' perception of my social class (middle, upper middle class) also sometimes influenced the way they placed me in the field, in particular, during the first a few months of the research. The class system in Turkey is very different to the one in the UK, but in broad terms, I would be placed as a middle to upper middle person based on my father's income. My grandparents came from poor, rural background, very low in the social structure, and my father grew up in the same context, but in adulthood he managed to develop a successful business. As a result, I would have been regarded when growing up as being in a family that had a reasonable amount of money. As for education, my siblings and I are the first generation in my family who received higher education. At the fieldsite, I tried to accommodate myself in the same social class structure where the youngsters were positioned, but our everyday conversations sometimes revealed the existing socio-economic differences in our lives. For example, a few weeks after I commenced the fieldwork, in response to Gamze's (Kurdish descent, f) question concerning my family, I briefly talked about where I lived in Turkey and what my father and siblings did for living and then asked her the same question to find out more about her life, but she simply refused to answer. Although at first I was unable to understand her rather unexpected behaviour, I later realised the reason why she reacted that way after I had found out that her family was on state benefits due to her father's health issues. It seemed to me that she was reluctant to give information about her family's working-class background, because I was placed higher in the social structure.

Additionally, my 'assumed' political positioning, being seen as a supporter of Turkey's AKP[37] (Justice and Development Party) due to my headscarf[38], also had an impact on

[37]The AKP (Justice and Development Party), a right-wing conservative political formation founded in 2001, has been the ruling party in Turkey since its first election victory in 2002 and is highly supported by Turks and Kurds identifying with Sunni Islam in Turkey and in the diaspora.

my research participants' behaviour in the field, particularly during the initial stages of the research. While some participants affiliating with the Alevi philosophy tended to keep their distance from me as a result of their overt stance against this political movement, the adolescents of Turkish (Sunni) descent signalled some sort of political affinity with me, based on the same assumption (see Chapter 4). In this regard, Hammersley and Atkinson note that:

> In the course of fieldwork, then, people who meet, or hear about, the researcher will cast him or her into certain identities on the basis of 'ascribed characteristics', as well as other aspects of appearance and manner, and relationship. This … must be monitored for its effects on the kinds of data collected.
>
> (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:79)

This brief description of my positioning at the research site demonstrates that human involvement in the ethnographic process can have a bearing on the data acquired. However, I should also note that as the amount of time spent with the Hackney Youth increased, their prejudgments about my religious, political and social class positioning were replaced by their trust and confidence, believing that I was there to understand their day-to-day practices and not to judge their language use or political views.

Ethnographic research entails a long-term commitment to grasp the social dynamics in a setting where the ethnographer can adopt a number of roles. That is, as s/he enters a dynamic context, where events, people and institutions are in continuous interaction with each other, his/her role constantly evolves depending on the circumstances. In the following, I succinctly describe some of the different roles I took as well as was assigned in the field, thus revealing the intricacies of being a participant observer in an institutional setting.

3.3.1.1 Participant observer roles

When I set out the fieldwork, I explicitly explained to everyone in the school (and in fact, thought) that I was just a researcher focussing on a group of young people of Turkish/Kurdish descent. However, I soon realised that ethnographic participant observation brings a variety of unexpected roles along with the process. Besides my main role as a researcher, I adopted, as well as was ascribed, several other roles at the fieldsite.

The ethnographer takes the participant observer role as either an in-group or out-group member during an ethnographic inquiry. In the former scenario, there is a potential danger of neglecting 'what is strange about the familiar' (Harris, 2006:15),

[38]As the headscarf has become a symbolic representation of the Sunni sect of Islam in recent years, a strong link between the AKP (Justice and Development Party) and this symbol of Sunni Islam has been constructed. In the first few months in particular, the youngsters' assumptions about my political affiliations seemed to have emanated from this in fact religious, but recently politicised, emblem.

however in the latter, the researcher might be subjected to accusations of 'inauthenticity and of fundamentally misunderstanding, patronising, or misrepresenting the group under study' (ibid.). In the research field, I had no particular pre-determined position apart from being a researcher, which placed me as an out-group member. At the same time, my background as a Turkish speaker from Turkey made me an in-group member. However, Johnson (2012) points out that an ethnographer's position as a participant observer is beyond the in- and out-group boundaries and might mean s/he needs to take several simultaneous roles in the field. In her research process, although she initially identified her role as an ethnographer unattached to teaching or counselling duties in the school setting where she was researching, some students perceived her as a representative of the school working for the school board, and thus were concerned that she might report their unacceptable behaviour to the head. In addition, some students were also treating her as a teacher, which she deduced from the linguistic code they chose to speak to her. During my ethnographic inquiry, I also experienced that there were multiple layers to my role as an ethnographer, ranging from being regarded as an unwanted adult, a young female researcher, a stranger in the classroom to a teaching assistant. Particularly during the first few weeks of my fieldwork, I noticed that I was mainly positioned as a female researcher by the school administration.

My petite appearance and gender seemed to have played an important role in obtaining permission to conduct the research and spend time with rather vulnerable individuals. On my very first day at the school, I was provided with a username and a password that facilitated access to the student database involving rather sensitive information about the students (whether their families were on state benefits, family contact number, home address, exam results and so on). I was also given a staff card, which enabled access to the main building and the staff-only zones, as well as the key to the common room used by the EAL department. In this room, members kept their private belongings (bags, laptops, mobile phones etc.) as well as the iPads (more than 20) they used during lessons. This immediate (rather surprising) trust in me seemed to be pertinent to my gender and petite appearance in the field. In this regard, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:74) state that 'as women are seen as unthreatening, they may gain access to settings and information with relative ease'. My early experiences in this educational site indicated that I was regarded as an 'unthreatening' and 'safe' female researcher by the school staff. My gender positioning further allowed me to have a close rapport with the Hackney Girls in a considerably short amount of time thanks to our common interest in, and knowledge about, popular cultural products emerging from Turkey. Nevertheless, my ascribed gender role was not always

advantageous as it sometimes posed problems, for example, when attempting to find a space to fit in with the male-dominant friendship networks of the Hackney Boys. I initially found it challenging to engage into their everyday conversations about the English premier league, American rappers and PSP video games. However, I slowly adapted to their way of life, joining their discussions related to football and rap/hip-hop to show my interest in their ordinary practices. I also gifted them a mug or t-shirt of their favourite football team for their birthdays. By developing these strategies of gaining their trust and adapting to their way of life, I partially tackled the issue.

The participant observant roles that I adopted as well as was given at the fieldsite were not just limited to my gender positioning. For example, during the 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week'[39] different roles, such as putting out the chairs and tables in the library before the audience turned up, cleaning up after the event and serving food and drinks to the participant parents and teachers, were designated to me. Due to my active and visible participation in the organisation, the parents regarded me as a member of staff and engaged in long discussions with me in Turkish with regard to the educational underachievement of their children. During science lessons, some teachers expected me to help particular distracted students with experiments and formulas so as to keep them engaged with the task. Furthermore, I acted as a model, posing for students who needed photos of someone for their photography projects, a badminton partner in PE lessons upon requests by my informants, a translator for Turkish speaking parents during the progress review day. The Turkish teacher portrayed me as 'the second teacher' in the classroom, by encouraging the students to ask their questions to me. If the members of the EAL department needed help, such as guiding a student to translate a poem from English into Turkish for a play or sorting out books and other documents in the staff room, I was kindly asked to do it. In addition to these 'safe' roles, there were also some occasions when I nearly got in trouble as a result of my active participant observer role.

3.3.1.2 Perils of participant observation

As an ethnographer participating in the routine activities of a group of 'mischievous' adolescents in and outside a London secondary school, I sometimes found myself in trouble as well as in situations where my presence was exploited to hide their misbehaviour. For instance, latecomers sometimes asked me to take them to the classroom and explain (lie) to the teacher that s/he was late because 'we' had been

[39]The 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week' was held in June 2013 to celebrate the diverse cultural mores of these communities. A series of events was organised in the school, and parents from these communities were invited to enjoy the music and dance performances of students from these backgrounds. A documentary portraying the musical diversity of Turkey was shown one day; on another, mothers brought in traditional food and a music performance was organised by young people of Turkish and Kurdish descent, most of whom were my participants.

dealing with a research-related issue. Some of the Hackney Youth would also occasionally get permission from their teachers to leave the classroom on the pretext that they would be having an interview with me, and turn up unannounced in the library or the room allocated for me, to listen to music or make chit-chat. Further demands, such as for me to do their homework, to charge their mobile phones and to ask teachers to change their seats, put me in a serious dilemma of either accepting their requests which I knew would strengthen our relationship, or of sticking to the school rules. Depending on the context, I sometimes allowed them to charge their phones and overlooked some of their inappropriate behaviour, but made my stance clear that I had to abide by the regulations of that educational institution.

In the introduction to their edited book on ethnographers' experiences of 'danger in the field', Lee-Treweek and Linkogle (2000) point out that exploring social life involves a diverse range of dangers, because researchers enter other people's social spaces unaware of the potential risks. It is the nature of participant observation that makes it rather likely that the ethnographer will face threatening situations in the journey of understanding the 'unfamiliar' (ibid.). In my ethnographic inquiry into the everyday linguistic and popular cultural practices of the Hackney Youth, the adolescents' misbehaviour sometimes put me in difficult situations, where my credibility as a researcher became questionable. For example, one day after school, I bumped into three informants (Zirav, Aliye and Shanley) at the school garden and walked towards the exit with them. As soon as we got out of the main gates, the girls headed to the nearby apartment blocks in the hope of finding a secluded spot to smoke. While Shanley and I were waiting for them at a safe distance, so as not to be in the same frame in case they might be seen by other teachers and students, I heard Zirav swearing at someone loudly and saw her pushing the door of one of the blocks and climbing the stairs. Within a minute, she came out of the apartment building boiling with anger and said that someone had taken her and Aliye's photos whilst they were smoking. Right at that moment, the assistant head teacher with several behaviour mentors arrived at the scene and said that they had received a complaint call from a resident claiming that one of the students was banging the doors, ringing the bells and harassing the residents. Zirav and Aliye, who had already put out their cigarettes, stated that they had not witnessed any of these claims during their presence in that locality. I could feel that the assistant head teacher's eyes were on me expecting a confirmation or denial of the girls' statements, yet I preferred to remain quiet so as not to put myself in a situation where I would either have to lie to save the girls or tell the truth and lose their confidence in me. This was just one incident in which I was also present when the Hackney Youth were caught violating the rules. However, overall I

managed to stay away from getting in trouble, and my close interaction with the Hackney Youth allowed me to observe them in a range of contexts and over a certain period of time. During my one year data collection period (May 2013 - June 2014), I had approximately 112 visits to the school where I stayed approximately 600 hours spending time with these adolescents.

Participant observation was the fundamental element of ethnography through which I was able to prepare the grounds for additional data collection methods – interviews, recording of situated language use and fieldnotes. The ideas and thoughts that were somewhat vague when I first entered the field site developed into a clear focus on my research object by means of the participant observation (see Fetterman, 1998). It is, however, not possible to remember the details of these critical moments observed in an ethnographic inquiry without keeping a record of them, which leads to me describing another essential data gathering tool: fieldnotes.

3.3.2 Fieldnotes

Throughout my fieldwork, I was intensely involved in the everyday practices of the Hackney Youth, observing their social interactions with their peers and teachers in the classroom as well as with other people working in the nearby kebab and barber's shop around the school. I decided to keep a systematic record of the incidents that struck me during my observations in order to understand the social dynamics among these young Londoners. According to Jackson (1990:15), ethnographers are 'those who write things down at the end of the day'. Ethnographers inscribe the situations experienced and people studied in the form of fieldnotes in order to portray deep, intuitive insights in a text style. Fieldnotes are, therefore, the reduced *representations* of the lived experiences in a written form. In an attempt to reduce the complexity of the social world, they (re)create the world in a way that can be assessed, researched and analysed. Fieldnote accounts are unavoidably *selective* (Emerson et al., 2001). This is because an ethnographer takes a note of what seems to be significant, which Wolfinger (2002:89) refers to as 'salience hierarchy', and s/he disregards any phenomenon that appears to be trivial (Emerson et al., 2001). In this regard, fieldnotes never form a 'complete' picture and are confined by the boundaries of writing conventions (Atkinson, 1992:17). That is to say, fieldnotes, as in all descriptions, 'are selective, purposed, angled, voiced, because they are authored' (Emerson et al., 1995:106). The ethnographer's choices of discourse – opinion, organisation of the text, and so on – in fieldnotes portray a description of a world that, according to Emmerson et al. (2001:358), operates more as a 'filter' than a 'mirror' and this was also the case with my fieldnotes. During my data collection, I drew attention to and inscribed the

events, talks, behaviours and so on that I thought might be helpful in comprehending the social relationships, cultural orientations and linguistic affiliations of the Hackney Youth in relation to the possible social meanings they ascribed to Turkishness/Kurdishness. Any other forms of activity that I believed would not assist me to find the answers to my questions concerning youth language identifications and ethnic stances were not jotted down.

Van Maanen (1988:ix) characterises ethnography as 'the peculiar practice of representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one's own experience in the world of these others'. Fieldnotes are thus a technique of grasping and maintaining the insights and understandings aroused from these close and long-term involvements (Emerson et al., 1995). Whilst putting down the events that might seem crucial, the ethnographer makes a decision whether or not to do it in the presence of participants. In order to minimise the discomfort of the people worked with, some ethnographers make jottings to avoid long descriptions (Emerson et al., 2001). However, 'off-phase' jottings could even be perceived as offensive, as suggested by Goffman (1989:130). If they have the potential to ruin the trust between both parties, then the best way is to conceal the act of jottings or quit writing while in the field and do it privately (Emerson et al., 2001). In my case, inscribing in the presence of my participants and other students did not create any problem that might deteriorate our personal relationship. I always carried my notebook and pen with me and jotted my notes down when I was not interacting with my research participants. During the first weeks of the fieldwork, I came to realise that my informants were inquisitive, rather than uneasy, about the content of my fieldnotes. Upon their explicit wish to see them, I selected one particular page, which simply described the events without my personal feelings and opinions, allowing them to read what had been written about them (c.f. Russell, 2005). This practice, which I repeated several times at the beginning of my fieldwork, contributed to the establishment of a sense of mutual trust between me and the adolescents. The youngsters indicated that they accepted my open writing as a mundane part of my fieldwork and did not consider this behaviour as threatening.

The nature of the situation and the role of the ethnographer have a major effect on the possibilities for conducting written accounts in the field. The full participation of the ethnographer might hinder the taking of fieldnotes at that particular moment, whereas other contexts can give the ethnographer the flexibility of making lengthy descriptions of the phenomenon of interest (Blomberg et al., 1993). My approach to inscribing in the field was largely shaped by the context – if I had an opportunity to interact with my participants, I prioritised interaction over inscription and wrote the details down later. For example, in textile and construction lessons when my informants were working on

a particular task that allowed them to converse with me simultaneously, such as painting the door or sewing a dress, I indulged in deep conversations about their daily lives, school experiences, family issues and so on, inscribing the descriptive accounts later in the day. In such cases, I deliberately refrained from jotting down notes or making long descriptions in order not to miss out on any important incident or conversation. On the other hand, when complete silence was needed and student participation was not expected, I sat down on a chair close to one of my focal participants and wrote down my observations.

Fieldnotes, traditionally regarded as the key element of ethnographic research, helped me to combine the seemingly complex, but systematic, relationship between people, events and institutions with the day-to-day in-depth description of what appeared to be significant in the field. These contemporaneous notes, approximately 310 A4 pages in total, provided a rich source of data that facilitated connections between what was happening at the fieldsite and my research questions. For example, I realised the significance of some of the linguistic and cultural practices, e.g. crossing into Turkish, within the field, after seeing the pattern in my fieldnotes. Whilst taking fieldnotes was an essential component of my ethnographic inquiry, I also found interviewing a useful data gathering tool that assisted me in getting more information about incidents, people and social structures from the subjects' point of view.

3.3.3 Interviews

Participant observation and fieldnotes were very helpful research methods in providing me an understanding of how ethnicities became visible in this process. However, I also thought it was important for me to try to get a sense of the Hackney Youth's lives outside school as well as their own interpretations of the events that had happened in the field. For this reason, I decided to interview my focal participants, beginning the process after spending almost four months in the field[40]. Fetterman (1998) argues that it is the ethnographer who should decide the pros and cons of each interviewing type before adhering to any particular approach in the field. In my research, I employed an ethnographic interviewing style (Spradley, 1979), which is similar to 'unstructured' or 'in-depth' interviewing. Ethnographic interviewing is different from the standard interviewing process in which the interviewer often addresses a question to the participant and the latter answers in return. For, during ethnographic interviewing, the ethnographer prompts the subject and elicits information by means of objects, events and places, what De Leon and Cohen (2005) call 'object probes'. Whilst interviewing returned Mexicans from the USA in Mexico, Cohen (2004) aroused their

[40] See appendix d for an example of a transcribed interview.

experiences of being migrants in the USA by means of the 'dollar bills', which she noticed that her participants had situated on their home altars. According to De Leon and Cohen (2005), this type of interviewing is less threatening and more conversational vis-à-vis direct questions in relation to the life experiences of informants. I adopted similar strategies for interviewing the Hackney Youth, building the base of our conversation on my existing knowledge about them with regard to their daily practices, religious and ethnic affiliations as well as their family trajectories. As this type of interviewing involved my participation in the field and also a certain degree of knowledge about the adolescents prior to the actual interview process, I conducted my interviews with the Hackney Youth almost four months after the fieldwork had commenced, as I mentioned above. During this time, I had had the opportunity to engage in countless interactions with them in and outside the school and had learnt a lot about their families, hobbies and favourite football teams. The interviews were geared towards obtaining close insights into their interpretations of events, people and their everyday lives in an informal conversational style. After I indicated my intention to interview my research informants, I checked their verbal consent again and arranged the time/date to meet. I gave them the option to decide whether they wanted to have the interview in a nearby café of their own choice or in the small room[41] used by the EAL department within the school. Some of them preferred to have their interviews in the small room (e.g. Zirav, Ufuk, Sema and Nuray), whereas the others opted for a nearby café[42] (e.g. Baran, Shanley, Aliye and Didem). Although I interviewed most of them individually, some of my research informants also wanted their close friends to be with them during the interview process (e.g. Baran came with Gencay; Shanley wanted Zirav to be present as well). Friends of the interviewee mainly kept quiet during the whole process, busy with their phones, and joined the conversation only on a few occasions. Besides these interviews focussing on their personal lives outside the school, I also carried out several retrospective interviews with the Hackney Youth after recording their naturally occurring speech to discuss further certain points emerging from the interactional data.

Before we began the interviews, one of the very first questions the Hackney Youth directed at me was concerning the language they were expected use (Turkish or English). I clearly explained to all of my informants that they should feel free to speak in the language (or both together) in which they would feel the most comfortable. Most of the female participants tended to use Turkish with some instances of code-switching into English, whereas the boys preferred to use English with a few words in Turkish. As

[41]This small room is attached to the common room used by the EAL department. It was mostly empty, but the staff utilised it if they had a meeting or for teaching with a small number of students.
[42]My research participants took me to the nearby cafes where they preferred to have the interviews with me. The cafes were within five to ten minutes walking distance from the school.

the interviews were carried out in a conversational style, I was very flexible, utilising both languages, depending on the context and the answer coming from my participants.

Within school hours, I participated in as well as observed the social engagements of the Hackney Youth in and around the school, yet I was also curious to find out more about their lives outside this institutional context. One way to have an understanding of their families, hobbies, daily activities at home and so on was to engage in informal conservation with these young people in an interview process. Kvale (2007:11) points out that 'the interview is a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects' … world'. With their detailed portrayal of their family members, summer holidays and the fun they had with their friends, I had a deeper sense of my participants' ordinary worlds. Hilay told me about a long car journey (3 days) she took from London to Greece (Salonika) to visit her mother's relatives, first, and then on to their summer house in Turkey every summer holiday since her childhood. Shanley's grandfather's (grew up in a Catholic orphanage) departure from Ireland to London with one pound in his pocket, the price of the ferry ticket at that time; her father's illegal migrant status after his decision not to return to Turkey with the cargo ship on which he was a crew member; and her mother's encounter with Islam; were some of the highlights that provided me an insight into her multiple connections with Ireland, Turkey and London. It can thus be seen that interviewing, conducted in an informal and conversational style, revealed parts of the Hackney Youth's world outside the school setting, a crucial social aspect that contributed to understanding some of their social positionings in the field.

Ethnographic interviewing can be insightful in many ways, as discussed above, but what interviewing can achieve is limited, and researchers should not expect to explore the broader notions of ethnicity and culture through small-scale interview studies without a solid basis built on observation and other methods. In their critique of an overemphasis on conflict-oriented ethnic/racial discourses in social science publications and public debates in the UK, Harris and Rampton (2009:101) propose a cautious approach to 'taking words too literally, insisting instead on paying serious attention to the discursive and social contingencies involved'. Tremlett and Harris also argue that:

> Focussing solely on declarative statements on ethnicity/'race' made by interview informants is reductive and offers an exceptionally narrow understanding of the realities of social life and social interaction.
>
> (Tremlett and Harris, 2016:137)

These authors demonstrate the limitations of relying on direct statements about ethnicity in interviews with empirical evidence showing how readily acquired ethnic/racial statements given in interviews portray a very narrow picture of individuals' everyday practices in the social world. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4, some studies on Londoners with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus have centred their discussion on the alleged separation between different ethnic (Turks vs. Kurds) groups on the basis of articulations related to ethnicity produced in interviews (Baser, 2011, 2013; King et al., 2008a). My empirical data emerging from the Hackney Youth's ordinary practices and social interactions refute such claims of ethnic/religious cleavage, by illustrating the subtle and intricate ways in which they negotiated their disparate stances in their everyday social encounters.

Another limitation of interviewing is concerned with the general assumption of treating the interview data as authentic and a pure representation of individuals' perceptions, attitudes and experiences, a phenomenon what Atkinson and Silverman (1997:309) call 'the interview society'. Gubrium and Holstein (2009:xv) argue that this orientation views narratives as the 'multi-faceted textual windows on the world' by overlooking an important fact that interview data is purposefully (re)produced in response to questions directed by the interviewer. These questions aim to elicit a certain kind of data that often reflects the researcher's agenda. For example, in Faas' (2009:299) study looking at the 'ethnic and political dimensions of hybridity among majority and Turkish youth in Germany and England', he asked the participants the following questions: 'Where do you feel belong to?' (ibid:315); 'Would you say you feel you belong to both Turkey and England?' (ibid:312); 'What role would you say does your Turkish Cypriot background play in your life today?' (ibid:314)'. With these questions, i) his participants are made aware of his research interests, and thus their answers are framed in terms of the questions asked (Silverman, 2013) and ii) he generally favours explicit expressions, a sense of order, narrations and speech disconnected from actions (Harris and Rampton, 2009). In my interviews, I deliberately refrained from direct questions aimed at eliciting responses in relation to the youngsters' ethnic and religious affiliations. Instead, I tried to create an informal environment in which they talked about the activities they liked to do at home and during their summer holidays; the dramas/films they enjoyed watching; and their family members. They showed me the photos they took and the videos they made in their summer holidays in Turkey, as well as played their favourite songs from their mobile phones. This type of interviewing, in turn, gave me a sense of the adolescents' everyday experiences outside the institutional establishment and as such, contributed to the interpretation of the data collected. As I mentioned above, in my research I maintain that the question of ethnicity cannot be fully grasped through direct

statements uttered in interview-based studies and emphasise, instead, the importance of an empirical approach that explores people's formations of their social identifications in everyday interaction. Before delving into the details of how I drew on naturally occurring speech data in scrutinising youth ethnicities, I briefly discuss the power asymmetries that I took into consideration at every step of my research, including during the interviews.

3.4.3.1 Power asymmetries

As a researcher studying a group of ethnically diverse subjects younger than myself, I was aware that ethnic and religious differences and power relations might influence the flow of the interview process. In his interview experiences with elderly Mexican Americans in New Mexico, Briggs (1986) realised that power balances affected respondents' participation in interviews. As his elderly respondents were unfamiliar with the idea that a young 'gringo' would shape the discussion on Mexicana cultural politics regarding which they were perceived to have more authority, they resisted this researcher's queries by giving brief and ambiguous answers. Based on these interview experiences, Briggs (1986) concluded that asymmetries of power frequently might appear in interviews, and that the discrepancy between the two sides with respect to cultural norms might generate problems of misunderstandings or resistance. Kvale (2006:485) also points out that 'a research interview is not an open and dominance free dialogue between egalitarian partners, but a specific hierarchical and instrumental form of conversation'. During my interviews with the Hackney Youth, some asymmetries of power, such as the age gap between us as well as ethnic, gender and religious differences with some of them, were important aspects that I had to take into account. In order to minimise the influence of these social constructs, I started the interviews after developing a close rapport with them. During the interviews, I paid attention to avoiding direct questions with regard to their ethnic and religious stances which, I thought, might be intimidating for them. Despite my cautious approach, I noticed that the youngsters themselves brought these topics up and did not shy away from expressing their religious or ethnic affiliations. The youngsters identifying with the Alevi belief talked about their involvement in Turkish politics as well as the religious rituals they sometimes attended; the adolescents of Kurdish and Turkish descent emphasised their pride in their ethnicities; some of the Hackney Girls talked about their boyfriends and how they met them, a private aspect of their lives that was carefully hidden from their parents. The youngsters' explicit and sincere expressions in the interviews suggested that, despite the issue of power relations and of our disparate social stances in many respects, I managed to mitigate the potential effect of these on the process (as well as on the whole research project). In this regard, Fontana and Frey (1994:370)

state that 'the development of a closer relation between interviewer and respondent … minimize[s] status differences and … the traditional hierarchical situation in interviewing'.

In my ethnographic research, I acknowledge the fact that a research interview 'entails a hierarchical relationship with an asymmetrical power distribution of interviewer and interviewee', but I find the idea which limits the 'role of the interviewer to ask, and the role of the interviewee is to answer' (Kvale, 2006:484) highly problematic. For example, in one of my retrospective interviews with Baran (Kurdish descent, m), he constantly told me about how well he played the *baglama* (the traditional musical instrument of Turkey, see Chapter 7) and played some of his recent recordings from his smart phone for about 20 minutes despite the explicit signs I adopted to show my impatience to begin the interview due to time constraints. Baran strategically ignored these linguistic cues and continued telling his stories until he completed everything he wanted to say. This brief example shows that power dynamics in interviewing is multi-layered and complicated rather than one dimensional, a process simply dominated by the interviewer. Having provided a brief description of asymmetrical power distribution in my interviews and my strategies for tackling this issue, I now move on to another data gathering tool used in my ethnographically informed inquiry: the recording of natural speech.

3.4.4 Recording natural interactions

While studying the ethnicities of the Hackney Youth, I captured their everyday interactions as they went about their school life[43]. The fine-grained details of their naturally occurring speech enabled me to have an understanding of how their ethnicities became salient in this institutional context. In their social engagements, where they were involved in events and activities without the interference of the researcher, their ordinary speech features signalled a range of ethnic associations (see Chapters 5 and 6). Harris and Rampton (2009) suggest that for a deeper understanding of how ethnicities are evoked, projected and understood, semiotic/linguistic interactional events – pronunciation, accents, words, gestures, text, genres and so on – need to be studied in situated interaction. In fact, seemingly trivial micro details in communicative activity provide the researcher with rich data that helps to unravel wider social processes (see Rampton, 1995a, 2009).

Although enormously insightful, naturally occurring speech is not easy to capture (Rampton et al., 2004). Two months after entering the field and developing a rapport

[43] See appendix e for an example of a transcription of naturally occurring audio data.

with the Hackney Youth during this time, I asked them to carry a radio-microphone[44] while they were attending particular classes and having their breakfast/lunch break. Some, in particular the boys, as mentioned previously, were reluctant to wear the radio-microphone even four months after the fieldwork commenced, being concerned about others hearing their intimate talk and swear words. My assurances that no one, excluding myself, would have access to these recordings and the freedom to switch the microphone off whenever they wanted eventually convinced some of the boys (Hakan, Ozan and Ufuk) to wear the radio-microphone. All of my focal participants (13 in total) carried it for different amounts of time ranging from 3 to 25 hours, as shown in Table 1 above. Rather than having a systematic approach in which, for example, each participant's naturally occurring speech was recorded for the whole school day, I observed and recorded the talk of 2 or 3 focal informants within a day. During data collection, I asked my informants to wear the radio-microphone that was equipped with a transmitter as they went through their ordinary lives in and around the school. I carried the receiver, which was connected to a handheld recorder and stayed within a distance of 20-30 metres of the transmitter for optimum reception. After a while, I came to realise that my presence was sometimes constraining the young people's movements around the school in their lunch breaks as some of them were going to secluded places to smoke. In order to give them the freedom to move around without being watched by an adult, I decided to hand over all the equipment to the informant who was carrying the radio-microphone and stopped following him/her (as well as his/her friends). Just before the lunch break ended, one of my focal participants would pop in the room used by the EAL department to return the equipment. When the main audio recorded data collection was over (December 2013), I had collected almost 127 hours data captured in very noisy settings (sports hall, classroom, kebab shop and barber shop). I spent several months listening to, annotating and coding[45] what seemed significant and central in understanding the ethnic affiliations of these adolescents. Despite the tremendous amount of time and hard work required to analyse the interactional data (Silverman, 2006) communicative activity elicits richer data than the written constricted answers in surveys and direct responses given to interview questions. In addition, situated communicative acts happen in contexts where social actors negotiate, challenge and construct their social worlds with other members in collaboration, which is not the case for artificially constructed settings (see Rampton et al., 2006). These unique features make the findings emerging from the situated communicative activity of the Hackney Youth essential for two reasons. Firstly, very

[44]I captured the naturally occurring interactions of the Hackney Youth using a Sennheiser EW 112-P wireless lavalier microphone and Marantz PMD620MK2 handheld recorder.

[45]I used the qualitative data analysis software 'Nvivo' for the coding of my interactional as well as fieldnote data (see Silverman, 2013 for the benefits of Nvivo in social science research analysis).

little of the previous research on youngsters who have ties with Turkey has involved investigating their naturally occurring linguistic behaviour in a mainstream school setting in London (although see, Creese et al. 2007, Çavuşoğlu, 2010 for complementary schools). It can thus be claimed that there is so far very limited empirical data on the ways in which these young people operate their linguistic resources in everyday communicative activities in such a setting. Secondly, the youngsters' mundane linguistic acts have helped me to understand better the intricate and multiple ways in which their ethnicities, with social class and gender inflections, are processed and activated within the contingency of a communicative activity.

Following a detailed analysis of the naturally occurring speech data collected (as well as interview recordings), I decided to play some of the extracts to the Hackney Youth in order to elicit a deeper understanding of what they meant in those particular moments to add to my existing knowledge about them gathered through interviewing. In these retrospective interviews, the youngsters commented on the episodes identified, providing an in-depth explanation about, for example, why they chose a particular word or accent, their relationship with the people involved as well as their social positionings. The follow-up interviews, in fact, served as a bridge between the biographical interviews I had with the adolescents and their actions in the world, as demonstrated in their naturally occurring recordings. In other words, these two types of data were linked through the technique of retrospective interviews.

Naturally occurring speech presents very rich data that offer a broad perspective on youth ethnicities, which I believe is central to understanding the possible meanings of Turkishness/Kurdishness among the Hackney Youth, however the term 'natural' should be approached cautiously, as Silverman (2006) warns. He reminds us that the analysis and transcription of interactional data involves human intervention. In fact, the representation of speech in written form remains the subject of ongoing debates around transcription in social science research.

3.4.4.1 Transcription and translation

After I had collected the speech data in the form of interviews and naturally occurring speech, I began the transcription process in order to be able to analyse and represent the interactional data in written form. According to Green et al. (1997:172), transcription is a 'tool' utilised in an attempt to represent interaction in text format. The act of transcription has widely been acknowledged as a selective, partial, creative and ideological product, which is framed by the expectations and beliefs of the transcriber (Bucholtz, 2000; Roberts, 1997). That is to say, the practice of transcription is not an objective process of documenting linguistic performance, but rather, a way of

representation that ascribes social identifications and status to the interlocutors (Jaffe, 2008, 2012). Bucholtz (2000:1461) emphasises that the goal of the transcriber is not 'neutrality' but 'responsibility'. She further notes that 'a reflexive transcription practice … requires awareness and acknowledgement of the limitations of one's own transcriptional choices' (ibid:1439). In this respect, a flexible approach to transcription entails thorough discussion of the decisions taken during the process (Roberts, 1997). In transcribing the talk of the Hackney Youth, I followed two different strategies: standard orthography when the emphasis was on the content of the dialogue alone and unconventional orthography to mark particular non-standard speech features. I am aware of the fact that using Standard English/Turkish transcription could have resulted in underrepresenting the complexity of the youngsters' language behaviour (see Jaffe, 2000; Jaffe and Walton, 2000), thus leading to the undesirable consequence of denying, what Roberts (1997:170) describes as, 'the social whole person'. However, considering the issues of readability and accessibility in making the text understandable to academic and non-academic readers, I decided to represent the interactional data in standard orthography when I focussed on people, events or relationships, rather than linguistic features. Non-standard orthography, integrated with the use of IPA[46] symbols and standard representation where necessary, was utilised in order to emphasise the articulated speech that deviated from the standard versions of Turkish/English. A broad and accurate account of an extensive range of their diverse linguistic resources did, in return, not only reveal the linguistic heterogeneity among a group of young Londoners classified as 'Turkish speakers', but it also contested the narrow descriptions of their ethnic affiliations, customarily deployed by most other observers, as broadly illustrated in the following chapters.

For analytic purposes and to make the transcriptions more meaningful for the reader, I used the following transcription conventions adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984).

[46]IPA, abbreviation for the International Phonetic Alphabet, is a system created on the basis of symbols to represent the phonemes, intonation, phones and so on of any language.

Table 2

Transcript Conventions	
Century Gothic	Turkish Speech
Century Gothic (Italics and bold)	Non-standard Turkish Speech
Arial	English speech
Arial (Italics)	Stylised Asian Speech
Agency FB	Kurdish speech (Kurmanji)
(2)	Pause in seconds
[ ]	Text overlaps
(…)	Text omitted
((text))	Comments
[text]	Words that are necessary for the text to make sense
=	No pause between turns
Underlined	Emphasised words
CAPITALS	Words pronounced louder and with emphasis
<text>	English translation of Turkish words or sentences
{…}	Incomprehensible speech

As for the translation of the Hackney Youth's Turkish speech into English (routine talk and interview) and its representation in the text, I translated the sections that I required for my analysis and intended to use in the final version of my thesis; I also presented the actual Turkish speech with its English translation. Like transcription, translation is also produced by the researcher and thus 'a purposeful activity' (Nord, 2014:1). As St-Pierre (2007:6) explains, 'translation [i]s a social, political, cultural and ethnical act, which in the process of reconstituting its origin(al)s, leaves them other than what they were'. The idea of translation as 'a form of action' implies the dynamic process of 'transformation' in which researchers engage, while negotiating between the speaker's words/utterances and their interpretation of them (ibid.). I consider the 'social act' of translation an important of aspect of my research to give a fuller sense of the adolescents' ethnic attachments in this London space, but I did not aim to provide an objective and neutral translation stripped from my experiences in the social world. In order to allow the reader to see my translation of the youngsters' Turkish expressions, I present both the original text and my translation of it in my thesis. In my characterisation of their non-standard Turkish language use as well as mixed Turkish-English speech, I also support the translations with extra information about relevant grammatical structures of the Turkish language to make the translations more meaningful.

In my ethnographically informed research, language in use has been treated as an important way to have a close understanding of the ethnic associations of the Hackney Youth in this diasporic educational setting. For my methodological perspective, I needed a theoretical stance that brings together ethnography with linguistic analysis to

study the relationship between discursive acts and their connotations within a broader cultural context. Thus, I also drew on 'linguistic ethnography', an approach that integrates ethnography with language study, to scrutinise the possible meanings that the Hackney Youth's habitual speech bears.

3.4.4.2 Why linguistic ethnography was important

An exploration of the Hackney Youth's routine talk manifested the implicit and subtle ways in which their ethnic positionings became salient in their everyday social engagements. For this reason, I needed an approach that would offer me considerably systematic frameworks for construing the complex structure of the adolescents' habitual talk as well as these speech forms' relevance to grasping the possible meanings of Turkishness/Kurdishness in this London context (see Harris and Rampton, 2009). Linguistic ethnography, which situates itself in a unique epistemological stance to the study of language in the social world, contributed to my understanding of the link between the youngsters' routine speech and their ethnic attachments. Rampton et al. explains linguistic ethnography as follows:

> Linguistic ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.
>
> (Rampton et al., 2004:2)

Taking the above broad description, Rampton outlines two general characteristics of linguistic ethnography:

> i) The context in which the interaction takes place should be studied rather than assumed. Meaning is formed within particular 'social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes', created and interpreted by social actors with diverse resources that needs an ethnographic approach; and
> ii) Detailed analysis of explicit (verbal) and implicit (semiotic) data is important to understanding their role in the social world. Meaning is beyond the 'expression of ideas'; trajectories and positioning are embedded in and played out in linguistic and textual details.
>
> (Rampton, 2007:340)

In his configuration of linguistic ethnography, Rampton puts an emphasis on the in-depth investigation of the context of the communicative act, as well as a microscopic look into language in use with an ethnographic perspective, taking personal, social and institutional circumstances into consideration so as to understand meaning-making processes better. Influenced by principles within ethnography and linguistics, this perspective regarding the scrutiny of communication presents a systematic way of analysing speech in social life (ibid.). As I will discuss in detail in later chapters, focussing on the language use of the Hackney Youth with careful attention to the context, by taking into account the wider cultural and socio-economic processes that

might have an effect on the dialogue, as well as the semiotics in the surrounding with an ethnographic perspective has helped me grasp the many ways in which their social lives operate in their North London setting. Furthermore, as Harris and Rampton (2009:107) suggest, linguistic ethnography involves adopting ‘a ‘practice’ view of identity, concentrating on how identities affect and get configured in people's social activity together’. This performative approach to ethnicity which is seen as something that people ‘do’ in their routine practices strongly challenges the essentialist configurations of ethnicity. In my study of ethnicities, investigating the language practices of the Hackney Youth with the principles of linguistic ethnography in mind provided an empirical basis for questioning the suitability of the singular and monolithic ethnic designations ascribed to these adolescents in superdiverse London. This perspective further allowed me to unveil the multi-faceted and complex ways in which their ethnicities are aroused and processed in their day-to-day activities and language practices.

In this ethnographic research exploring the Hackney Youth’s everyday linguistic and popular cultural activities in a North London educational institution, I utilised a wide range of ethnographic data gathering tools, as I detailed above. During one year period of participant observation (May 2013 - June 2014), I paid 112 visits to the school and spent approximately 600 hours in and around the school with the Hackney Youth; inscribed 310 A4 pages of fieldnotes; conducted 13 interviews that lasted 12 hours; recorded 127 hours of natural interaction; collected 10 hours of retrospective interviews; took the photos of all kinds of artefacts, e.g. student notebooks, semiotics displayed on the walls (poems, photos, reminders) and cultural events. Data gathering can be summarised in the following table.

Table 3

Data collection instrument	**Amount of data (approximate)**
Participant Observation	1 year (May 2013-June 2014), 112 visits to the school and spent approx. 600 hours with the Hackney Youth
Fieldnotes	310 pages
Interviews	12 hours
Recorded speech data	127 hours
Retrospective interview	10 hours

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodological route I followed in exploring the daily language use and popular cultural engagements of the Hackney Youth in and around a mainstream school in North London. My theoretical stance towards youth ethnicities in superdiverse societies required a methodological approach that assisted me in uncovering the multi-faceted nature of their ethnic attachments. Interview-based

studies as well as quantitative surveys, social science research methods that base their arguments on figures and direct statements without further evidence to support their claims, would have failed to deal with the complexity at hand (Harris and Rampton, 2009; Tremlett and Harris, 2016). As a result, I adopted an ethnographic approach as well as drew on linguistic ethnography to gain greater insights into the adolescents' everyday linguistic and popular cultural practices. An ethnographic approach made it possible for me to participate in the 'lived' worlds of these youngsters, where I witnessed their tears, laughter, gossip about each other, arguments with their teachers, interaction with the people working in the nearby kebab and barber's shop, tensions among each other and so on. These tiny details of their everyday lives acquired through an active involvement in the field carried myriad social meanings in relation to their fluid and ambivalent ethnic attachments. No other research methodology would have provided me with an in-depth understanding of how the Hackney Youth framed and reshaped their social identifications within the momentary contingencies of interaction.

Under the ethnographic lens, the aim is to comprehend the social dynamics in a context from the viewpoints of subjects. This feature of ethnography makes it 'democratic' and 'counterhegemonic' (Hymes, 1996) in the sense that it 'offer[s] voice to the subjects it stud[ies] and so create[s] a critical social-scientific paradigm that destabilize[s] and negate[s] established truths by dialogically engaging with reality' (Blommaert, 2009:257). From this perspective, ethnography has the capacity to contest deep-rooted norms by allowing diverse voices to speak. In this research, ethnography helped me to scrutinise an underrepresented group of young people and unfold the sophisticated and intricate ways in which their ethnic stances manifested themselves within their everyday interactions. An ethnographic approach provided rich empirical data that calls into question the suitability of the singular and narrow ethnic categorisations unhesitatingly used to describe Londoners with links to Turkey. The Hackney Youth's language in use and popular cultural orientations captured with an ethnographic gaze makes it possible to bring out the hybridity and diversity of their ethnic affiliations, thereby opening up a new paradigm, one that shifts away from the dominant discourses of ethnic homogeneity and uniformity. This exploration of the ethnic identifications of young Londoners further provides empirical evidence to support Stuart Hall's (1988) theorisation of 'new ethnicities' by going beyond the idea as merely a theoretical stance. My participants' everyday experiences within this institutional context, captured with ethnographic lenses, have enriched my understandings of how fluid and ambivalent ethnic identifications are processed and experienced in multi-ethnic London. The subsequent chapters widely illustrating their ordinary linguistic

behaviour and popular cultural engagements, reveal the nuanced and subtle ways in which the adolescents' ethnic identifications are 'lived' and 'indicated' in this North London setting. But first, I will briefly demonstrate the explicit statements through which the Hackney youth expressed their ethnic and political orientations.

CHAPTER 4

EXPLICIT ETHNIC AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

4.0 Introduction

In later chapters, I want to develop the case that an important way of understanding ethnicity is to use ethnography to illuminate the indirect ways through which people make ethnic identifications (e.g. through patterns of language use or through popular cultural participation). However, before doing so I want to explain that there were occasions when the Hackney Youth made their ethnic affiliations explicit, which took the form of outright identifications with Turkishness or Kurdishness[47]. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, some previous work on 'Turks' and 'Kurds' has featured explicit statements given in interviews about being members of these ethnic communities in London. Based on my argument that the complex question of youth ethnicities cannot be construed by focussing on overt declarations alone, I am critical of the studies that have overemphasised interview statements while studying people with ties to Turkey in the UK. However, in my research too, the Hackney Youth occasionally made explicit statements and positionings in relation to their ethnic and political affiliations. In this chapter, I want to touch briefly upon some of the moments in which the adolescents made their ethnic identifications explicitly salient. I will argue that when analysed within larger social and historical contexts as well as combined with other research methods (e.g. ethnographic participant observation) overt statements can also be a useful way of understanding how people produce an idealised account of their ethnic positioning.

Despite references by some authors to there being very serious cleavages between 'Turks' and 'Kurds' in London on the basis of political tensions between these ethnic groups in Turkey, my data do not show that disparate ethnic attachments create insurmountable boundaries among these people. With reference to these alleged schisms, Baser (2013:31) argues that 'Kurds and Turks [living in the diaspora] have drifted apart and have often had very little social interaction'. According to her, this division has an impact on everyday relationships among the younger generations in such a way that:

> Second generation Kurds have no experience of living alongside the Turks and, therefore, can only conceptualize "the other" – mostly from the historic or shared memories of others and the media. Therefore, it is entirely possible that these cleavages will deepen with each successive generation.
>
> (Baser, 2013:33)

[47]The descriptions given in this thesis focus on young people identifying with 'Turkish' and 'Kurdish' ethnicities, two of the ethnic formations categorised under the so-called 'Turkish Speaking Communities'. Although Turkish Cypriots are also part of this imagined linguistic and ethnic community in London, my work does not make claims about them, which is because the number of adolescents of Turkish Cypriot descent in the school that I conducted my research was too low.

My ethnographic research with the second generation Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent challenges this experience (see also Demir, 2012; Dogus, 2012). In my research the allegedly divided 'Turks' and 'Kurds' shared common practices and even formed strong friendships. Although there is evidence of occasional tension and tactful avoidance of known points of sensitivity, as I will show below, this does not mean the complete separation of these ethnic groups. Their distinctive ethnic stances, which the Hackney Youth overtly declared and highlighted on certain occasions, reveal their multiple ethnic associations. In my data I captured two main divergent ethno-political orientations among them: i) participants who emphasised their Kurdishness, some of whom also identified with the Alevi belief (see footnote 2) and ii) participants of Turkish descent supporting the conservative and Sunni segment of Turkish nationalism. As broadly discussed earlier, the question of ethnicity played an important role in the foundation of the modern Turkish nation-state (see Chapters 1 and 2). I present below the link between the ongoing ethnically-related political developments since the building of the Turkish state and the explicit ethnic declarations and positionings reported by my research informants in the London context. For this, it is important to understand the historical background on which the ethnic, religious and political differences between Kurdish and Turkish ethnicities are grounded.

4.1 Ethnic division and the Turkish state

As I mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, Atatürk followed the example of Western European nation-states to create a new modern and secular Turkish nation-state based on a singular and unified Turkish ethnicity. This novel ethnic uniformity was, indeed, an outcome of the suppression of the long-established ethnic heterogeneity in the former Ottoman state (Cağaptay, 2004). Aslan (2011) states that the new republican elite desired an 'extreme makeover' of society according to an 'imagined' western modernity, which went beyond simply constructing a new nation-state with national symbols and holidays. Highlighting western lifestyle and favouring 'national subjects' with secular affiliations and Turkish background, the republican elite laid the foundation of a rooted tension between the secular and the religious as well as some Kurds and the Turkish state (Yavuz, 2000). The reflection of this confrontation has been also sensed among my research participants in 21st century London, as I will elaborate in the sections ahead.

Even today, nearly a century after the foundation of the Turkish state, the imagined ethnic formation programmed by the republican elite has not brought about a modern, unified and homogenous 'Turkish' ethnicity, not only in Turkey, but also in the diaspora. Excluding Kurds, Alevis, rural/traditional/Islamic Turks and many other ethnic and

religious differences, the strict description of Turkishness was sometimes challenged by the Hackney Youth in an explicit manner. Before illustrating these occasions on which the youngsters made forthright ethnic and political statements, I briefly explain the historical background that led to ethnic, political and religious fragmentation between some Kurds and Turks[48] as well as within themselves.

4.1.1 Kurds and Turks and their fragmented structure

To begin with, I will briefly portray the tension between nationalist 'secular' and 'religious' Sunni Turks. Özbudun (2014:155) writes about this long-standing discrepancy between these two poles with these words 'the cleavage between the secular centre and the religious-conservative periphery has been the most important dividing line in modern Turkish politics'. The Turks with secular inclinations generally have a tight attachment to Atatürk's party, the CHP (Republican People's Party)[49], and therefore, the leftist-nationalist segment of the Turkish state. Specifically, they align themselves with the policies and 'reforms' that Atatürk introduced in an attempt to modernise and westernise the allegedly backward and traditional Anatolian Muslim society, as well as secular Turkish nationalism (see Yavuz, 2000). As they associate themselves with a 'modern' western lifestyle, by which they mean a more flexible life and one that is not restricted by religious rules, some secular Turks seem to consider the visibility of religious symbols as a threat to the Turkish state (Warhola and Bezci, 2010). None of my participants of Turkish descent expressed attachment to the secular segment of Turkish nationalism (probably because their families come from rural areas where people tend to support conservative political organisations). I have provided a brief description of this political stance to demonstrate its contestation with Sunni conservative Turkish nationalism, an ethno-political positioning with which some of the Hackney Youth of Turkish descent explicitly aligned.

The second group of Turks (and also some Kurds, see below), on the other hand, side with political organisations that promote Sunni Turkish nationalism. The individuals falling into this category tend to align with Turkey's ruling AKP (Justice and Development Party)[50], a party that is rooted in nationalist Islamism (Özbudun, 2014). Somer explains the Islamic orientation of the party as follows:

[48]My descriptions are not intended to essentialise or put people into neat and tidy ethnic and political categories. This brief historical overview portraying the political and religious tendencies of Turks and Kurds in Turkey as well as in the diaspora aims to give a general background to the ethnic and political statements made by the Hackney Youth.
[49]The CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Republican People's Party) was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on 2 September 1923 as the first political party of the Turkish state (for more information see http://www.chp.org.tr/en/ accessed on 20.04.2016).
[50]Since the 2002 election in Turkey, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) has been the main actor in the Turkish parliament, getting enough MPs to form the government on its own due to its success in receiving the support of the conservative Sunni majority of Turkish society.

> The programme and practice of the AKP indicate that its priorities lie in strengthening democracy and Islamic communities, and in promoting a more Islamic – conservative social and political mainstream.
>
> (Somer, 2007:1278)

The AKP's conservative and Islamic stance is in conflict with the extreme secular impositions of the CHP (Republican People's Party), which has traditionally imposed a strictly framed secularism model by allocating little space for religion in the public sphere[51] (Keyman, 2007; Somer, 2007). In the Turkish context, the majority of the conservative segment of society supports the AKP so as to highlight their opposition to the pro-secular elite class that had controlled the social, cultural and political platform until the AKP had its first victory in 2002. Since this date, the popularity of the latter has grown among the conservative masses in Turkey as well as in the diaspora. As I illustrate below, my participants of Turkish descent who made explicit declarations in favour of the AKP also came from families with relatively conservative and religious (Sunni) sensibilities.

I have so far outlined the divergent and to some extent conflicting political tendencies among Turkish people in Turkey and the diaspora. I now continue with political fluctuations and fragmentations among the Kurds. There are two dominant political strands within the Kurds in London and Turkey: i) Marxist-leftist Kurds, dreaming of 'one united Kurdish nation' and ii) Kurds who identify with Islam only, thus supporting conservative Islamic parties in Turkey.

Some of the first group of Kurds tend to align with Marxist socialist ideologies and provide support to the armed organisation the PKK (Kurdistan's Workers' Party, see footnote 4). As I briefly summarised in Chapter 1, since the foundation of the PKK in the late 1970s, the conflict between the Kurds who feel affinity with the PKK and the Turkish state has continued in eastern/south-eastern Turkey (see Yeğen, 2007). In my ethnographically informed research, none of my participants of Kurdish descent explicitly or implicitly indicated their affiliation or identification with the PKK. Moreover, some of them even expressed their parents' efforts to keep them away from getting involved in Kurdish political debates and the PKK. Zirav, for example, told me that she did not inform her mother that she took *baglama* (traditional musical instrument of Turkey, see Chapter 7) lessons in a youth centre run by Kurdish people. She kept the details about the youth club a secret because her mother was so worried about her being 'brainwashed' by PKK sympathisers, who had convinced one of her cousins to join the organisation and fight against the Turkish armed forces in the mountains in

[51]However, the CHP's stance towards Islam has shifted in the last few years under its new leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who is an Alevi Kurd originally from Dersim (see footnote 8 for the Dersim rebellion). Kiriş (2012:409) argues that Kılıçdaroğlu 'led the party to the center right' in an attempt to regain the trust of conservative voters.

eastern Turkey (interview: 15.10.2013). My data show that the Hackney Youth of Kurdish descent did not seem to affiliate with the armed Kurdish ethno-nationalist movement PKK. However, what I did notice is that, the youngsters who strongly identified with Kurdishness occasionally highlighted their distinctive ethnic stance through explicit declarations when they sensed that their Kurdish ethnicity was denied and/or was stifled by the rigid interpretation of Turkishness.

The Sunni conservative Kurds, on the other hand, tend to identify themselves with Islam and Sunni conservatism in Turkey and disassociate themselves from the armed organisation, PKK. Rather than affiliating to an ethno-nationalistic stance in a very strict sense[52], the majority of Kurds in this group argue that they have shared the same common territory and religion with Turks for centuries, and they can stay united under the Turkish nation-state as long as their ethnic and linguistic rights are recognised. As for political attachment, Kurds with Islamic sensibilities support Sunni conservative political formations in Turkey (Criss, 1995), in particular the AKP (Sarigil and Fazlioglu, 2013). In my research, one of my research participants of Kurdish descent, Didem, oriented to this political stance, as I discuss below (see subsection 4.2.4).

In addition to Sunni Kurds who highlight their Islamic identifications, there is another less-populous group of Kurds (and some Turks) in Turkey that follows the heterodox, syncretic sect, Alevism (see footnote 2). As I explicated in Chapter 1, Alevis have shown an affinity with leftist and socialist movements to take their stance against the Sunni-oriented structure in Turkey (Mandel, 1996). This ideological choice has been voiced in a louder tone following the continuing dominance of AKP in Turkish politics. Dönmez (2015:560) argues that as 'the AKP envisages a nation patterning on Muslimhood … [and], Sunni-Muslim values [are] centered in Turkish identity', the Alevis, living in Turkey and the diaspora, remain openly sceptical about the conservative stance of the party. In the following sections, I demonstrate some of the ways in which the political dissonance between my participants identifying with the Alevi philosophy and Sunni Islam was explicitly stated in the 21st century London context.

In the explicit declarations made by the Hackney Youth, the influence of these long-standing ethnically- and politically-inflected fluctuations that exist among Kurds and Turks were sometimes sensed. The following is a brief account that describes the overt ethnic statements of the Hackney Youth. To begin with, I succinctly delineate some of the moments in which direct articulation of Kurdish identification was made.

[52] It should be mentioned that some Sunni Kurds also highlight their Kurdish identification as well as actively participating in Kurdish political and ethnic organisations.

4.2 Explicit statements of ethnic Kurdish affiliation

Some of the adolescents of Kurdish descent explicitly identified with Kurdishness in their everyday interactions with their friends as well as in their interviews with me. I noticed a consistent pattern, whereby these youngsters felt the urge to highlight their distinctive ethnic stance when the uniform interpretation of Turkishness seemed to smother their Kurdish ethnicities. In the following interview excerpts, Zirav and Baran explicitly state their Kurdish affiliation to emphasise their distinctive ethnic stance.

Zirav: Ben Kürdüm, kendimi Kürt olarak şey yapmayı daha çok seviyom, anladın mı? (...) Türkleri sevmemezlik yapmıyom da kendimi [Kürt olarak] göstermeyi istiyorum.

<I am Kurdish, I like it more to be identified as such, got it? (…) It does not mean that I don't like Turks, I just want to be known as a Kurd>

(Kurdish descent, f, interview: 15.10.2013)

Baran: Ben neysem oyum. Ben diğerlerine [Türklere] siz Kürtsünüz deyince nasıl hoşlarına gitmiyorsa, ben de Türk denilmesi istemiyorum.

<This is who I am. Just like when I call others [Turks] 'Kurds' they don't like it, I don't want to get called a 'Turk'>

(Kurdish descent, m, interview: 08.05.2015)

These interview statements not only illustrate the youngsters' explicit identification with Kurdishness, but also their demand to be recognised as a part of this ethnic group by the wider society, in particular by the Turks. In contrast to these adolescents who articulated their distinctive Kurdish ethnicities, several other participants of Kurdish descent, for instance Ufuk and Ozan, never openly spoke about their identification with Kurdishness, but on a few occasions they said something that signalled their Kurdish background (e.g. when they uttered a Kurdish word or mentioned that their parents could speak a Kurdish language). Among all the youngsters of Kurdish descent, Baran was the most outspoken informant who straightforwardly defied any attempt that might disguise his Kurdishness, as the following shows.

4.2.1 Baran and Kurdish affiliation

When Baran felt that his distinctive identification was hidden by the ethnic notion 'Turk' or 'Turkish', he responded to these references by emphasising his Kurdishness. At such moments, he would reject any connection with Turkish ethnicity and highlight his Kurdish background saying 'I am not Turkish, I am Kurdish'. The following dialogue between Baran and his peers of South Asian descent exemplifies his firm stance when his Kurdish background was concealed beneath Turkish ethnicity.

Episode 1
Participant/Setting: 11.10.2013. Baran (Kurdish descent, 16, m), Hamid (Indian descent, 16, m), Dera (Indian descent, 16, m). Construction lesson. The boys were sitting on their usual desks together occupied by their woodwork. Whilst carving the wood they were entertaining themselves by talking about day-to-day matters such as football and politics. After a few minutes of silence, Baran shared a recent change in his life that he had a girlfriend. The following is Baran's backlash against Hamid upon calling him a 'Turk'.

1. Baran: Hamid, I have got a girlfriend now
2. Hamid: These Turks're {…} bruv
3. Baran: Am I a Turk?
4. Hamid: Same thing
5. Baran: No, it ain't the same thing.
6. Dera: Are you a player? Is like saying Jamaicans and Africans =
7. Baran: =There's a big difference between Kurds and Turks. You might not
8. know, you don't know the difference I know the difference. You don't
9. know it, but I do. So that's why I don't wanna get called a Turk.
10. Hamid: What is the difference?
11. Baran: There's big difference, don't worry what it is. I'll tell you another time (..)
12. Huh? It's basically like saying a Ghanian is a Nigerian.
13. Hamid: Isn't it common sense {…} I'm Kurdish
14. Baran: {…} I'm a Kurd.

This interaction is one example showing a participant of Kurdish origin being sensitive about the smothering of his Kurdish identity by an all-encompassing ethnic interpretation of Turkishness. Bailey (2007:31) argues that 'since identity is a function of self- and other-ascription, the constitution of identities, through the negotiation of congruent ascriptions, is visible in the turn-by-turn talk of individuals'. A detailed look into the dialogue reveals the slightly tense interactional process in which Baran demanded that Hamid recognise and accept his Kurdish ethnicity. Soon after Baran broke the news about his girlfriend, Hamid, the seemingly practising Muslim, made a broad statement to criticise Baran as well as the overall 'liberal' Islamic practices among, what he called, 'Turks' (line 2). Hamid might have used the ethnic term either wittingly to tease Baran, as he and his other friends of South Asian descent usually did, or unconsciously because labelling all the Turkish speakers as 'Turks' was a prevalent practice in the school. Whatever the motivation behind this ethnic generalisation was, Baran was not delighted to be called a 'Turk' and confronted this classification by asking Hamid to question and correct his statement (line 3). Hamid then indicated his awareness that 'Baran is of Kurdish descent', yet he further stated that he regarded both ethnicities as the 'same thing' (line 4). Baran underscored his frustration about the burial of his Kurdish identification under the more dominant notion 'Turkish', counteracting the simplistic approach of Hamid as well as inviting him to reconsider the effect of the ethnic label 'Turkish' on some Kurdish people. In the subsequent lines, Baran highlighted that Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities are inherently 'different' despite

the lack of concrete evidence he provided (lines 7, 8, 9). This interaction exemplifies how one adolescent of Kurdish descent reacted to being classified as a 'Turk' by overtly stating his Kurdish affiliation. Additionally, I captured several other incidents in which Gamze (Kurdish descent, f) protested about being categorised under the umbrella term 'Turk/Turkish'.

4.2.2 Gamze and a Kurdish sensibility

Soon after I began my fieldwork in May 2013, I attended an English lesson to observe Gamze (Kurdish descent, f) and Zirav (Kurdish descent, f) and sat with these girls. The supply teacher handed out a poem and asked the students to discuss the accompanying questions with their peers. The girls had no interest in the poem and began chatting with me, asking all sorts of questions to get to know me better. At one point, Zirav asked 'miss, who do you think is the most entertaining Turkish girl in our group?'. Gamze, silent until that point, immediately joined the conversation and opposed Zirav's ethnic generalisation with these words 'herkes Türk değil' ('everyone is not Turkish'). Zirav then had to reiterate the question with its modified version and said 'who is the most entertaining Turkish or Kurdish girl in our group?'. In fact, Zirav, an adolescent of Kurdish descent, missed no opportunity to express her Kurdish origin, as described in her interview extract above. It seemed to me that her ethnic generalisation was the unconscious articulation of the dominant discourse circulating in the school (as well as in the wider community) that assumed all Turkish speakers as being 'Turks'. Gamze was apparently displeased to be categorised as such because the classification implied that 'their separate Kurdish identity does not merit recognition' (King et al., 2008b:11).

A similar challenging approach to the masking of Gamze's Kurdish identity was taken in a photography catch-up lesson (after school club) when her younger sister, Ozge, a student at the same school, was present to get some assistance with her homework. As an assignment, the teacher wanted her to write a paragraph describing her hobbies. After carefully thinking about the activities they liked to do as a family, Gamze asked her sister to type 'we watch Turkish dramas, but we are Kurdish' (fieldnotes, 11.12.2013). To leave no room for any misunderstandings arising from their everyday practice of viewing 'Turkish' soap operas, Gamze felt the need to emphasise her family's Kurdish background. This brief example illustrates the sensitivity and awareness Gamze displayed in relation to emphasising Kurdish ethnicity as being different from Turkish ethnicity.

In all of these incidents, explicit expressions of Kurdishness emerged as a reaction to the denial of the adolescents' distinctive Kurdish ethnicity. Baser (2011:11) states that

'much remains to be discovered about the perceptions of Kurdish origin European citizens of the Kurdish question'. These examples give a useful insight into how the youngsters of Kurdish descent played out the long-standing ethnic debates around the recognition of Kurdish ethnicity in Turkey and its reflection in the diaspora. The adolescents explicitly stated their Kurdishness and confronted any attempts at stifling, what they felt was, their distinctive Kurdish ethnicity. This was in fact one way in which explicit Kurdish affiliation was expressed among the youngsters. Another distinctive ethno-religious positioning within Kurdishness, which became salient on particular occasions, was the Alevi belief. The youngsters identifying with the Alevi philosophy stood out with a firm stance against the Turkish ruling party AKP (Justice and Development Party). Their explicit support for the *Gezi Park* protest[53] is an exemplification of how their ethno-religious stance manifested itself in the London context.

4.2.3 Explicit statements of Alevi political (religious) affiliation

Two of my participants affiliating with Kurdish ethnicity, Aliye and Gamze, occasionally expressed alignment with the political dimension of Alevism, articulating their critical opinions about the Sunni-oriented political party, the AKP, in Turkey. As I mentioned earlier above, the Alevis tend to keep aloof from Sunni political formations in Turkey, because this religious minority is not fully represented within the parameters of the Sunni-dominated Turkish politics (see Dressler, 2008). My research participants identifying with the Alevi philosophy made their ethno-religious stance explicit through participation in the *Gezi Park* protest in London and open declarations of disassociation from the conservative AKP.

Soon after I began my fieldwork in May 2013, the *Gezi Park* protest was spreading across the whole of Turkey, and its resonance was also sensed in London. Whilst chatting with my research participants during a lunch break, I came to find out that Gamze (Alevi, Kurdish descent, f), Aliye (Alevi, Kurdish-Turkish descent, f) and Didem (Sunni, Kurdish descent, f) had taken part in the *Gezi Park* demonstrations organised in Trafalgar Square by the Alevi community in London to show their solidarity with the demonstrators in Turkey. Although the demonstrations in Turkey were begun to protest against the urban development plan for *Gezi Park* in Taksim Square in Istanbul, this soon turned into countrywide protests against the Turkish ruling AKP and also led to solidarity gatherings in the diaspora.

[53]The *Gezi Parkı* protest in Turkey began on 28 May 2013 in confrontation with the urban development plan for Istanbul's *Taksim Gezi* Park. A group of young people (environmentalists) concerned about the rapidly decreasing green spaces in the city aimed to draw public attention to the plan by camping out in *Gezi* Park (influenced by the Occupy Movement). The uprising soon spread to the whole country.

Aliye, born to a Zaza speaking Alevi-Kurdish mother and a Sunni-Turkish father who supported a nationalistic party in Turkey, the MHP[54] (Nationalistic Movement Party), was interested in political developments in Turkey. Her case is striking with regard to her parents' opposing political, religious and ethnic identifications which, according to Aliye, hardly caused any tension at home. It shows that polarised political and religious views among 'Turks' and 'Kurds' is not necessarily as divisive as the media as well as some scholars and politicians imagine. Aliye, who followed in her mother's footsteps, identified herself as Alevi-Kurdish and aligned with the Kurdish-leftist movement opposing the ruling AKP in the Turkish parliament. Based on the ideological disparity between the Alevi and Sunni political organisations, Çarkoğlu and Bilgili state that:

> Given the theological contrasts and historical hostility between the Alevi and Sunni populations, it should come as no surprise that the relationship between the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) and the Alevis has been strained from the very beginning.
>
> (Çarkoğlu and Bilgili, 2011:354)

Soner and Toktaş (2011:428) also maintain that for the Alevis, the AKP has 'Sunni-Islamist roots and represents Sunni-Islam'. The ideological dissonance between the Alevis and the AKP emerges from the party's conservative stance which is indicated by its policies, such as the promotion of the Sunni-Islamic symbol of the headscarf and anti-alcohol laws, which the Alevis regard as alarming and menacing (Öktem, 2008). Concerned that their secular lifestyle is being threatened by the AKP's conservative policies, Alevis explicitly showed their support for the *Gezi Park* protests (Bardakçı, 2015). My research participants, Aliye and Gamze, who affiliated with the Alevi philosophy, also sometimes took part in political demonstrations as well as cultural events organised by the Alevi community in London, and, as mentioned above, a demonstration about the *Gezi Park* protest in Turkey was one of them.

Aliye was actively involved in Turkish politics and was outspoken about her political views against the Turkish ruling AKP. She responded to my question regarding her participation in the *Gezi Park* protest with these words:

> Bazen burdakiler diyolar ki 'niye o kadar giriyosun? Yani Türkiye'de olan bişey burda bişey değil'. Ama yani bence hani zaten siyasi görüşün nerde olursan ol, mesela Syria'da ölen insanlar var, burdakiler kalkışıyo, ben Türkiye niye kendi halkım için kalkışmıyorum? Öyle düşünüyorum ben.
>
> <Sometimes people here say 'why are you getting so much involved [in politics]? It is something happening in Turkey not here'. But I think, wherever you are, your political views, for example there are people dying in Syria, people in here rise, why would not I rise for my own people? That's how I think>
>
> (Kurdish-Turkish descent, f, interview: 19.03.2014)

[54]MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, Nationalist Movement Party) is a Turkish ultra-nationalist party that is strongly attached to Turkish nationalism.

Aliye regarded involvement in politics and expression of thought through protests as a way of giving voice to 'her own people' in Turkey. What she probably meant was that the Alevi-Kurdish minority was not sufficiently represented within the Sunni-Turkish dominant society in Turkey. Göner (2005) notes that:

> The main reasons for this absence of representation lie in the continuation of the privileged position of Sunni Islam in the dominant public sphere and difference-repressive policies of the Turkish state.
>
> (Göner, 2005:119)

It seems to me that politics provided a platform for Aliye to contest the supremacy of Sunni political orientations and to articulate her Alevi affiliation explicitly. Şahin (2005:481) argues that 'a huge majority of Alevis consider the Islamist parties as their major opponents'. In brief, Aliye's political stance against the AKP government, which she indexed through her direct participation in the *Gezi Park* demonstrations, was tightly linked with her Alevi identification.

Another research participant of Kurdish-Alevi descent who explicitly stated her political opinions against the AKP and participated in the *Gezi Park* demonstrations was Gamze. In an English lesson when I was sitting with her, she immediately brought the topic to the hot political debate at that time about the protest and bluntly asked my personal opinion about it. As a researcher trying to treat all of my research informants the same regardless of their ethnic or political affiliation, I gave an evasive answer to Gamze's question, which intentionally avoided an attachment to any political movement. She did not seem to be convinced by my expressed neutral stance concerning such a polarised political issue. In fact, she jumped to the conclusion that I stood by the AKP government in relation to the *Gezi Park* protests probably because of what she assumed to be the symbolic representation of my Sunni identity – the headscarf I wear. Most Alevi women do not wear the headscarf.

In the given examples, it has been shown that these young women of Kurdish descent identifying with the Alevi philosophy displayed their ethno-religious stance through active involvement in Turkish politics. They took part in demonstrations organised by the London Alevi community to emphasise their dissonance from the conservative rhetoric and policies of the AKP. In the eyes of these girls, the *Gezi Park* protest was a milestone that made it possible for them as well as Alevis in the diaspora to raise their voice against, what they regarded as, the conservative, right-wing political formations in Turkey. As I mentioned above, Aliye and Gamze were not the only informants who took part in the *Gezi Park* demonstrations; their good friend Didem also went to the protest due to her best friend Aliye's insistence. Didem, despite identifying herself as of Kurdish descent, was loosely connected to Alevism (her father whom she

had never seen since she was seven was an Alevi Kurd). Instead, her family identified themselves as Sunnis rather than Alevis. Coming from her mother's orientation, she held relatively positive views on the AKP's stance in Turkish politics as opposed to her friends Aliye and Gamze, but still she joined the *Gezi Park* demonstration with her Alevi friends. This illustrates that the alleged schisms that are tightly linked with history are remarkably subdued in the London context; in other words, friendship has overtaken these historical divisions, as the following section shows.

4.2.4 Didem: another kind of Kurdishness

Didem (Sunni, Kurdish descent, f) stated that she had participated in the *Gezi Park* demonstrations held in Trafalgar square, but her motivation in participating in the protest was different to Gamze and Aliye's. She went without the knowledge of her mother only because her best friend Aliye insisted that Didem should not let her go on her own. Despite her participation in the protest, she in fact aligned with the AKP government's stance on the *Gezi Park* protest, as well as distancing herself from the protestors in Turkey, as she explicitly declared in an interview:

> like Gezi [Parkı] olaylarında, they did have a right to protest ama that didn't mean
> <in the Gezi Park events> <but>
> like they had to ruin the whole country, because when they were protesting they damaged the whole country, and that didn't help anything. Like they could have done it in like a peaceful way (…) Let's say we're in the library, all the students are like destroying the whole library like protesting, how are they supposed to stop it?
> (Kurdish descent, f, interview: 19.03.2014)

Didem indicated her support for the AKP government's way of dispersing the protestors at the *Gezi Park* because, according to her, 'the protestors destroyed the whole country' by getting 'violent' while trying to raise their concerns about the governance of the country. She further told me more details about what had happened on the day she participated in the demonstration. During the protest, the events progressed differently to what she had expected when one protestor holding a banner carrying Abdullah Öcalan's (the founder of the PKK) photo and another with the Turkish flag and Atatürk's photo, stood next to Didem and the journalists began taking photos right at that moment. Wary that her mother would disapprove of her presence in a frame with Öcalan, she was so scared that she covered her face with her hair when the photo was being taken. As the example shows, Didem chose to be present in a political arena which was in fact contradictory to her own views. Her participation in the protest, and in a larger sense her friendship with Aliye, points to the fact that these youngsters constituted a convivial culture in which their ethnic, religious and political differences were treated as an ordinary and banal part of their identifications (see Gilroy, 2006). Despite occasional tense moments, I did not encounter the existence of separation or

cleavage among these youngsters as some authors have claimed (see Baser, 2013; Çilingir, 2010). On the contrary, the prominent thing I noticed in my data was that the youngsters got along well and formed strong friendship bonds. The most normal way of behaving for them was to interchange linguistically, cooperating with each other in linguistic and popular cultural practices, as I will detail in the next three chapters.

Didem's overt criticism of the protestors at the Gezi Park, who, she thought, had ruined the country's image, illustrates an incident of explicit ethnic and political declarations made by a young woman of Kurdish descent. As her family largely identified with Sunni-Islam rather than an ethno-political version of Kurdishness, the interview extract indicates her alignment with the Sunni-oriented AKP. I have so far discussed the open declarations made by my research participants of Kurdish descent. I now focus on the instances in which the youngsters of Turkish descent adhered to Turkish nationalism and the Turkish political party the AKP.

4.3 Explicit affiliation with conservative Sunni Turkish nationalism

The Turkish project of creating a western and 'enlightened' Turk carried out by promoting the minority secular elite and by disavowing the traditional, rural and Islamic majority of Turkey forms the basis for the confrontation between the secular and the religious perspectives that have persisted right up until today (Özbudun, 2014), as I briefly discussed above. The increasing popularity of the AKP among the conservative Islamic masses in Turkey as well as the diaspora has brought about a power shift away from the secular nationalists to Sunni conservative nationalists. In my research, some of the Hackney Youth of Turkish descent, who came from conservative family backgrounds, were articulate about their affiliation to AKP and thus, the conservative Sunni segment of Turkish nationalism, in their interviews with me. For example, Nuray told me that she was brought up in a family environment in which then Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan was an extremely loved and respected figure. According to Kalaycioğlu, (2007:250), the AKP's popularity in Turkey as well as in the diaspora lies in its projection as a 'tradition-religious-conservative political party and thus solidly embedded it in the rising tide of conservatism' among Turkish people. Similarly, in his research exploring the general tendency of voters from before and after the 2007 election in Turkey, Çarkoğlu (2008:335) found out that 'increasing subjective religious commitment or frequency of reported religious practice raises the likelihood of voting for the AKP'. My participants of Turkish descent, who aligned with the policies of the AKP government and articulated their satisfaction with the governance of Turkey, indicated their Sunni-conservative background in London. In the coming subsections, I exemplify some of the ways in which the youngsters of Turkish descent explicitly

identified with the AKP as well as with Turkish nationalism, in general. Firstly, I briefly outline the overt manner in which Nuray articulated her affiliation to the AKP government by giving support to its strategies for getting the *Gezi Park* protests under control.

4.3.1 Nuray: The Gezi Park protest

Nuray had completely negative views about the *Gezi Park* protests, blaming the demonstrators for creating chaos in the country with their unreasonable demands. She emphasised her support for then prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan concerning his direction to the Turkish police force to disperse the protesters at the park and further added that he was treated 'unfairly' as a result of his decision to restore order in the country. Nuray said that:

> ha bu gezi parkını çok şey oldu yani, biraz abartıldı bence (…) gaç tane yani? 10-20 trees in a park (…) Osmanlı zamanından şeymiş, ben Ottomanları sevdiğim için.
>
> <this Gezi Parkı [protest], it happened the thing, it was slightly exaggerated, I think … How many trees overall? 10-20 trees in a park … It was the thing [military barracks] at the Ottoman era, because I love the Ottomans>
>
> (Turkish descent, f, interview: 19.03.2014)

Nuray contended that the turmoil spread across the whole country was just because of '10-20 trees in a park' and therefore was unacceptable and 'exaggerated'. This argument was in fact the repetition of what politicians in Turkey criticising the *Gezi Park* protests put forward. The strong underlying message was the protesters' 'purposeful' act of creating terror in the country by ruining the credibility of the AKP government on the pretext of protecting a few trees. She also stressed the importance of the new project for the park, i.e. recreation for the Taksim Military Barracks[55]. Nuray, who openly expressed her pride in the Ottoman past of Turkey in numerous ways (see Chapter 7 for more in relation to this, where the use of Ottoman-themed costumes for her textile course work is discussed) seemed pleased with the building construction that aimed to bring the Ottoman spirit back to the park. With her explicit identification with the Ottoman past of Turkey, Nuray in fact, was aligning with the AKP's reconstruction of Turkish national identity around its Ottoman heritage. Ibrahim Kalin (2010:99), senior advisor to then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, implied the wide recognition of this national model by noting that Turkey had recently revisited 'its past experiences, dreams and aspiration in its greater hinterland. Turkey's post-modernity seems to be embedded in its Ottoman past'. This novel 'Turkish' identity

[55]The Taksim Military Barracks built in 1806 was seriously destroyed during the 31 March Incident in 1909, when the opponents of Abdulhamit II took over Istanbul with the help of a segment of the Ottoman army and dethroned the Sultan. It was eventually demolished in 1940 to construct a wide inner city park in place of it.

promoted by the AKP contradicts the national model envisaged by Kemalists, who disavowed Turkey's, what they perceived as, 'backward' and 'Islamic' Ottoman heritage. This dissonance between these two political poles concerning the design of a 'Turkish' national model indicates the continued tension between the religious and secular segments of Turkish society. In brief, Nuray's explicit support for the AKP's stance on the *Gezi Park* protest was a reflection of her affinity with the Turkish ethnic design offered by the AKP.

The overt support given to the AKP in its strategy for dealing with the *Gezi Park* protests is one of the dominant ethno-politic orientations among the young people of Turkish descent. Their strong alignment with Turkish nationalism, which they verbally expressed by emphasising their pride in being Turkish and their love for Turkey, was another political identification adopted by these youngsters. In the following interactional data, I discuss one way in which Sema (Turkish descent, f) articulated her affiliation with Turkish nationalism when criticising her Kurdish friends' resistance to being classified as Turkish.

4.3.2 Sema: Turkish nationalism

Sema, a young woman of Turkish descent, sometimes expressed attachment to Turkish nationalism particularly when she wanted to highlight that the unity of Turkey and Turkish society was in danger due to the ethnic sensibilities of the Kurds. In an interview, she stated her disapproval of Kurdish people's uneasiness with the Turkish state with this question: 'Is Turkey such a bad country [for Kurds to live]?'. Whilst referring to her Kurdish friends' reaction to being called 'Turkish', Sema narrated the following incident:

> We was talking about our lessons in year 7, me and Ozan and all other Turkish people, Turkish and Kurdish people used to be in the same class (…) I was like 'we was all 7 people in one class, normalde 7 tane Türk'ü yan yana komazlar', and
> <normally, they would not locate 7 Turks together [in the same classroom]>
> then Ozan turned around me, he's like 'I'm not Turkish', ilk şey yapmadım, I didn't
> <at first, I did not>
> realise what he was trying to say, I was staring at him and then afterwards I realised, 'well, don't expect me to go, there was 3 Turkish people, 3 Kurdish people and 1 Turkish Cypriot' onu saycak değildim, I just said 'you know Turkish people,
> <I was not going to count it>
> 7 Turkish people' yani bana gelipte onun hesabını yapma and then I was just
> <so, do not question me about that>
> like 'aren't we all from Turkey? OK I say 'Turkish' but I included everyone coz we're from the same country, are we not?'. He was like 'yeah, I'm from Turkey but I'm not Turkish, Kurdish', I was like 'OK, I'm not saying you're not Kurdish, there's a reason behind me calling you Turkish coz we're all from the same country'.
>
> (Sema, f, retrospective interview: 19.03.2014)

In this narration Sema highlighted the enormous sensitivity that Ozan, one of her friends of Kurdish descent, displayed to being labelled 'Turkish'. For Sema, 'Turkish' was an ethnic term which, she claimed, referred to a country of origin 'Turkey' not to a specific ethnicity. She further alluded to the fact that her friends, who identified themselves as 'Kurdish', maintained their distance from the ethnic label 'Turkish', despite the encompassing ethnic classification pragmatically representing everyone having ties with Turkey. Sema also noted that despite the multi-ethnic nature of Turkey, where Bosnians, Arabs and many other ethnic formations harmoniously live, it was only the Kurds who wanted to stand out and distinguish themselves from the rest of the ethnic groups. In her words, I could sense some sort of resentment, which indicated that the unity of the Turkish nation was at stake as a result of the separatist attitudes of the Kurds both in Turkey as well as in the diaspora. However, it is worth mentioning once again that Sema's explicit criticism of some of the Kurds' demands for ethnic recognition should not be regarded as a sign of division or cleavage between the 'Kurds' and 'Turks' in London. For, she told me about her brother's love for a Londoner of Kurdish descent. She also showed me the photos and videos of the engagement ceremony, which blended the Black Sea Turkish and Kurdish cultural practices in a hybrid form. This example demonstrates further evidence of conviviality among the people of Turkish and Kurdish descent in the London context, where ethnic differences between these groups are normalised despite occasional explicit declarations of ethnic affiliation.

Sema was not the only subject who signalled her adherence to Turkish nationalism by adopting a critical approach to the declarations and ethnic demands of people identifying with Kurdish ethnicity in the school setting. I noticed that some parents with connections to Turkey and Northern Cyprus openly aligned with nationalist ideas in a similar way.

4.3.3 Ayse hanım and Turkish nationalism

Soon after I began my fieldwork in May 2013, the 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week', a series of events organised to bring together people from these ethnic backgrounds and celebrate their cultural heritage, was held at the school. During one of the events, the documentary called 'Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul', which portrays the diverse music culture of Turkey, was shown to a small audience of around 10 mothers from Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish backgrounds. A small part of the documentary also features a few Kurdish musicians' thoughts about, as well as experiences of, the long-term ban on Kurdish songs (in fact languages) in Turkey, which was lifted in 1991. The musicians severely criticised the

ban narrating its impact on their music lives, but none of them expressed any negative opinions about Turkey. In fact, all emphasised the inseparable bonds of brotherhood and unity between the Turks and Kurds. After the documentary, I had a chance to have a long chat with Ayse Hanım[56], a member of the school committee. She was a middle aged woman of Turkish Cypriot descent born and brought up in London, who was extremely disturbed by the criticisms expressed by the Kurdish musicians in the film and stressed that she found the documentary 'too political' for such an event where they strived to bring these three communities together, not to separate them. She further stated that she was very pleased that not many people had turned up, in particular, not a single white British person; she seemed relieved that an 'outsider' did not see the split in, what she would have called, the Turkish population. This imagination of 'Turkish-People-As-One' (Robins, 1996:71) is a projection of ethnic essentialism that views ethnic multiplicity, in particular, Kurdish ethnicity, as a threat to the unity of the Turkish state and thus, it seeks to overlook this diversity. Furthermore, Ayse Hanım tried to prove to me, positioned as a Turk from west Turkey[57], her loyalty to the Turkish state. As a sign of her allegiance to Turkey and Northern Cyprus, she showed me her key ring featuring the Turkish flag on one side and the Northern Cyprus on the other, and praised her children's fluent Turkish language skills. With the key ring indicating her adherence to the Turkish state as well as her explicit disapproval of the parts of the documentary criticising the Turkish state's approach to the Kurdish question (linguistic aspect of it in particular), Ayse Hanım exploited all the possible ways to manifest her explicit attachment to Turkish nationalism.

4.4 Conclusion

Whilst the main focus of my thesis is on youngsters' everyday linguistic and popular cultural practices that indirectly illuminate how ethnicities are lived and experienced, this chapter has demonstrated that explicit expressions of ethnic identifications can also contribute to our understanding of ethnicities to a certain extent. The youngsters' overt ethnic claims comprised two main strands, that is, identifications with Turkishness and with Kurdishness. Direct affiliations with Kurdishness were openly articulated in moments when the adolescents of Kurdish descent sensed their distinctive Kurdish ethnicities were concealed beneath the uniform interpretation of Turkishness. The most common reaction in such instances was to highlight their strong attachments to Kurdishness by disassociating themselves from Turkish ethnicity, an explicit verbal act which strongly challenged the strict strand of Turkish nationalism. Another visible

[56]*Hanım* is an address term used for women in Turkish.

[57]The significance of her seeing me as a Turk from west Turkey relates to the conflict between the PKK and the Turkish armed forces in eastern/south-eastern Turkey. That is, people living in the latter region (mainly Kurdish people) are sometimes stereotypically associated with the PKK and thus, considered as being disloyal to the Turkish state.

identification among the Hackney Youth of Kurdish descent concerned the Alevi belief, which manifested itself in the political arena in the form of taking a stance against the most popular right-wing Sunni-oriented political formation in Turkey – the AKP. By taking part in the *Gezi Park* protests as well as directing criticism at some of the AKP's policies, the youngsters identifying with the Alevi philosophy exhibited the political dimension of their ethno-religious positioning. Some of the Hackney Youth of Turkish descent, on the other hand, pronounced their attachment to Turkishness by aligning with the AKP government and Sunni Turkish nationalism. These youngsters gave massive support to the AKP's stance on the *Gezi Park* protest, openly criticising the demonstrators on the grounds that they carried out acts of vandalism to protect a few trees in a park. Their explicit adherence to the Turkish national image introduced by the AKP, which seeks Turkishness in its Sunni-Ottoman roots, signals the deep-rooted political confrontation between the secular Kemalists and the conservative Sunnis in Turkey.

Despite some momentary disagreements emerging from the existing disparate ethnic, religious or political stances, my data show no evidence of serious ethnicity-based separation or division among the adolescents. Moreover, the youngsters managed to develop a convivial culture in which they established a close friendship group and shared linguistic features and popular cultural practices as well as products. In my thesis, I have particularly focused on visible acts of 'identifications' and have taken great care not to speculate about the internal and emotional 'identities' the youngsters might have. Some analysts might emphasise the existence of strong Turkish or Kurdish 'identities' despite the cultural and linguistic hybridity, in particular, among young people in multi-ethnic London. However, the arguments made here in relation to ethnic hybridity and conviviality are based on my sociolinguistically as well as sociologically informed empirical ethnographic research, which has involved paying attention to the youngsters' routine performances and behaviour; not their assumed 'identities'. In the following chapter, I amply demonstrate how the Hackney Youth's ethnic identifications can be understood by identifying and analysing specific features of Turkish in their mundane speech patterns.

CHAPTER 5

COMPETING TURKISH/KURDISH LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES

5.0 Introduction

As I outlined in Chapter 2, the idea of a standard language spoken by every subject in the bounded territory of Turkey is considered to be one of the most fundamental elements of the modern Turkish nation-state (Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004). Since the birth of the Turkish state, this high-status variety of Istanbul Turkish has been promoted through state-sponsored organisations as the only correct and legitimate way of speaking and writing Turkish (Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004; Öncü, 2000). The supremacy and precedence of this prestigious version delegitimises other numerous regional dialects of Turkish as well as ethnically marked languages, in particular those which are used by Kurds (Demirci, 1998; Demirci and Kleiner, 1999). In my dataset, I found that standard Turkish language ideology was also influential among the Hackney Youth and sometimes appeared in their conscious talk. At particular moments, the competition between Standard Istanbul Turkish and my informants' regional non-standard varieties became rather salient in this North London educational setting. In this chapter I will analyse how the continued dominance of standard Turkish language ideology had an impact on the speech of youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent in 21st century London. I will also demonstrate the multiple ways in which these youngsters coped with the primacy of this prestigious variety in their everyday interaction. My data show that, despite particular instances in which the adolescents employed different tactics to accommodate the prestige of Standard Turkish, these speakers predominantly embodied regional speech features which are discredited by standard Turkish language ideology in their routine talk. Chambers (2004:3) argues that 'the variants [which] occur in everyday speech are linguistically insignificant but socially significant'. The prevalence of non-standard, regional and even rather stigmatised linguistic patterns in their everyday Turkish speech bears strong social meanings with respect to the working-class positioning of the Hackney Youth both in Turkey and in contemporary North London. Although most of my participants' families had migrated to the UK from rural areas in Turkey to have a better life (to elevate their social status), as the adolescents described in their interviews with me, they failed to move upward in the social class ladder. The adolescents' parents held blue collar jobs in the North London local economy and/or were dependent on state benefits[58] and living in one of the most

[58]The data regarding the socio-economic background of my research participants is sourced from my interviews with them, my observations in the school setting and data from the school records (See appendix f for their parents' profession).

deprived boroughs of London (Indices of Deprivation, 2010). In this diasporic setting, the linguistic dimension of their low socio-economic position manifests itself in the rural and non-standard forms of Turkish used as a common instrument for social interaction. The Hackney Youth's ordinary Turkish language behaviour then provides valuable insight into how Turkishness/Kurdishness is indicated and experienced in the London space. Their ethnic attachments are marked through affiliation with non-standard Turkish varieties notwithstanding the varieties' widely accepted low prestige. Their talk indeed highlights the role of social class in scrutinising Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities in the UK and thereby responds to the research gap in this area, as I mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2). The detailed linguistic analysis given in this chapter (as well as in Chapter 6) demonstrates the significance of social class in fully understanding the ethnic affiliations of young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent. Before detailing the youngsters' routine Turkish language use and its link to their ethnicities, I will briefly discuss how the 'correctness' that Standard Istanbul Turkish evokes delegitimised non-standard varieties of Turkish by portraying them as 'inaccurate' speech forms in this school setting.

5.1 The notion of a 'correct' Turkish language

Standard language imposes rules of correctness upon speakers with regard to what is perceived to be the 'right' and 'wrong' form of written and spoken language (Milroy, 2007). In this research context, one of the prime sources promoting Standard Turkish was official Turkish language classes which constantly signalled the supremacy of the standard variety in a range of implicit and explicit ways. The Turkish classes privileged the standard way of writing and speaking Turkish at the expense of overlooking adolescents' diverse linguistic resources in Turkish as well as in other languages. In fact, all of my research participants could understand and speak Turkish (different regional varieties of Turkish) fluently enough to converse with their parents and other community members – neighbours, Turkish/Kurdish shop keepers, friends outside school. They could also read Turkish scripts and produce written work in Turkish such as poems and stories. However, as the Turkish classes operated in favour of the standard variety only, my research participants' written productions and spoken utterances were less valued at times. I will now exemplify some of the ways in which non-standard Turkish varieties were discouraged in Turkish classes in this North London educational setting.

5.1.1 Turkish language classes at school

In my research site, one of the places where the youngsters encountered standard Turkish language ideologies was in the official Turkish language classes offered at

school. Most of my research participants attended the Turkish GCSE classes which took place two days a week after school as the unofficial 6th period of the curriculum. Despite the Turkish teacher's relentless struggle to convince the Head of the school to include the Turkish classes in the official teaching hours, which were 5 hours a day, the Turkish GCSE classes were offered only after school. The teaching of Turkish as the sole class in period 6 revealed the school's attitude towards ethnic minority languages which were in fact regarded as less important than the other European languages taught within the school curriculum such as French, German or Spanish. Within this complex linguistic hierarchy, the Turkish teacher focussed on one major thing, i.e. high exam grades, which were strongly linked to students' success in producing Standard Istanbul Turkish in the exam. Consequently, standard written and spoken Turkish was the only variety that was encouraged and expected to be deployed in the Turkish classes. The following extract from Didem's written assignment, which the teacher corrected in accordance with standard language conventions, exemplifies how the standard written form was promoted as the only accurate way of writing.

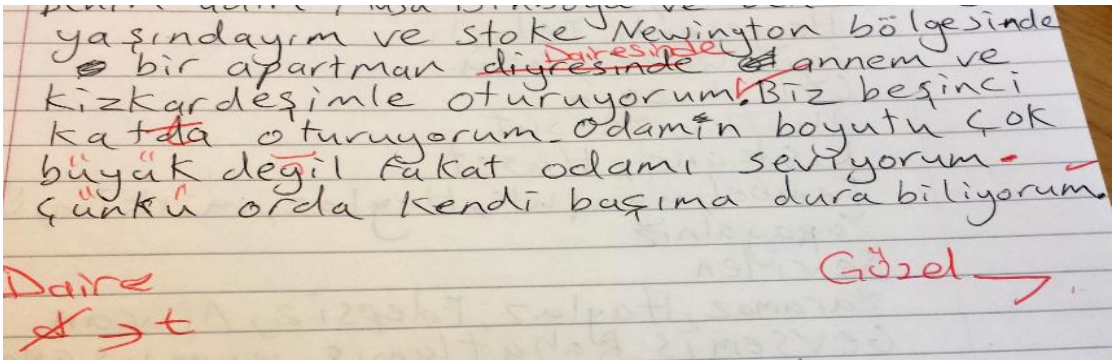

Figure 1: Extract from Didem's written assignment which shows the corrections the Turkish teacher made using red pen

In this written extract, Didem describes her flat located on the fifth floor of a block of apartments in the Stoke Newington area of North London and the size of her room, which is small but meets her needs. The teacher corrected the written representation of some lexical items as shown in table 4.

Table 4

Didem wrote	**Standard Turkish**	**Standard English**
Katda	Katta	On the…floor
Deyil	Değil	Not
Diyresinde	Dairesinde	In the flat
Buyuk[59]	Büyük	Big/large
Çunku	Çünkü	Because

[59]In the Turkish alphabet the back vowel *u* /u/ with the umlaut turns into the *ü*/ʉ/ letter. Didem's use of the *u* letter in place of the standard umlauted *ü* in her written account was perceived as spelling mistake by the teacher.

The comparison between Didem's choice of particular lexical items and the teacher's correction of them indicates the tacit confrontation between the written form of Standard Turkish and the multiple other ways of writing Turkish. The promotion of the standard version of spelling through linguistic correction clearly highlights that in this institutional setting (as well as in others), only the standard way of writing Turkish is recognised. The teacher primarily encouraged the use of the 'accurate', by which she meant the 'standard', written representation of the lexical items in Didem's homework. Where Didem produced non-standard spelling of some lexemes, i.e. *katda*, *deyil*, *diyresinde*, *buyuk* and *çunku,* rather than the standard versions of *katta*, *değil*, *dairesinde*, *büyük* and *çünkü,* the teacher intervened in her written work and implicitly guided her to generate the institutionally accepted standard written version.

Besides such written corrections, the Turkish teacher would also often put emphasis on regional colloquial expressions, such as *napıyon*? (How you doin?), warning the students to avoid them in their spoken exams. These linguistic indices would give constant explicit messages with regard to the socially-recognised and -valued variety of Turkish in this institutional space. The teacher did sometimes refer to the diversity of Turkish by stating that regional linguistic practices should not be considered to be 'incorrect' language use. She further noted that all the people in the classroom, including herself, carried imprints of such linguistic features at their disposals to a certain extent. She also added that it was the exam board which demanded that the students should produce a particular version of Turkish, i.e. Istanbul Turkish, not her, and she was only there to prepare them for this exam. The teacher's explanation can be read as not only an act of recognising and aligning with the students' diverse linguistic resources but also a reminder that the way they speak Turkish would be compared to the other more prestigious way of doing it. However, her routine language behaviour, involving Standard Turkish only, immensely conflicted with what she claimed. In short, the Turkish GSCE language classes offered in this school portrayed a homogenous uniformity by developing consciousness among the Hackney Youth of the single correct written and spoken form of Turkish. Below I will present interactional data illustrating how Baran (Kurdish descent, m) reproduced standard Turkish language ideology by correcting his peers' assumed 'inaccurate' Turkish language use.

5.1.2 Peer to peer 'correction'

During my fieldwork, Baran (Kurdish descent, m) attended the Turkish language classes regularly and showed interest in the written and spoken classroom activities which aimed at orienting students towards the standard form of Turkish. The constant linguistic reminders prioritising the standard version while depicting regional and non-

standard varieties as 'incorrect' language use had a profound influence on him. The 'correctness' and 'pleasantness' that Baran accorded to Standard Istanbul Turkish derived from the convention emphasised in the Turkish language classes that there is only one correct way of using language, which is the officially recognised variety. This favourable attitude towards the standard variety of Turkish is also strongly linked to Turkish speakers' ascription of positive social meanings to this prestigious version in general (see Demirci, 1998, 2002). The following dialogue illustrates how Baran aligned with the dominance of Standard Turkish in this educational establishment by expecting his peers to produce this high-status variety alone.

Episode 2

Setting/Participants: 25.10.2013. Hakan (Kurdish descent born in London, 16, m), Baran (Kurdish descent born in London, 16, m), Gencay (Turkish descent born in Turkey, raised in London, 16, m). Baran was wearing the microphone in a construction lesson taking place during the final period of the week. The class was in a heated discussion about whether they should complete the theory task on the worksheets given or watch a construction-related YouTube video as they usually did in the last period of the week. The teacher decided that the students would continue with their theory task. At this given moment, Baran, Hakan and Gencay, sitting at the back seats in the same row, began talking about the previous day's Turkish lesson.

Transcription conventions:
Arial: English speech
Century Gothic: Standard Turkish speech
Century Gothic (Italic, bold): Non-standard Turkish speech

1. Hakan: You go Turkish [lessons], innit?
2. Baran: I know how to speak Turkish perfect, friend
3. Hakan: Then why do you need to go? =
4. Baran: =Just coz, I just, I just speak rough Turkish, that's it. I don't speak posh
5. Hakan: I don't need to speak posh, like
6. Baran: Yeah, [you do, you do.
7. Hakan: [Baba, ***napıyosun be***?
   <Dad, how you doin'?>
8. Baran: No, you do need to speak posh. You got to say like all the letters
9. properly
10. Gencay: ***Napıyon diyom, sen napıyon***?
    <I saying how u doin, how u doin?>
11. Baran ((laughing)): Inni? It is not '***napıyon***', it is 'napıyorsun[60]'?
    <How u doin?> <How are you doing?>
12. Gencay: Napıyorsun arkadaşım?
    <How are you doing, my friend?>
13. Hakan: ***Napıyon***? ***Napıyon***?
    <How u doin? How u doin?>
14. Gencay: We say it '***napıyon, napıyon***?'
    <How u doin, how u doin?>

[60]*Napıyorsun?* stands for both 'how are you doing?' and 'what are you doing?' depending on the context of the conversation.

15. Baran: Hakan, '***geliyom***' diyeceğine 'geliyorum' demen lazım.
<Instead of saying 'I coming', you need to say 'I am coming'>
16. Hakan: ***Geliyom*** anne, ***geliyom*** tamam.
<I coming, mum, I coming, OKAY>
17. Baran: Anne geliyorum.
<Mum, I am coming>

Baran's explicit correction of his friends' non-standard regional linguistic patterns as well as his further demand that they should deploy the 'correct' form of speech, by which he meant the standard variety, only shows that dominant Turkish standard language ideology is also influential on the Hackney Youth's attitudes towards Turkish varieties. In the first part of the episode, Baran tried to justify his attendance to the Turkish language classes on the grounds that he needed to access the 'posh' and 'proper', in other words 'standard', version of Turkish which these classes presented as the only legitimate and socially accepted form of Turkish (line 4). In the subsequent lines, he imposed on his peers to articulate the standard version of the Turkish phrases by correcting their regional articulation features (lines 11, 15, 17), a linguistic act widely employed by the Turkish teacher as discussed above. The following table demonstrates the linguistic hierarchy of the expressions depicted in the dialogue.

Table 5

Standard Turkish	Standard English	Acceptable Standard Turkish	Non-standard Turkish	English translation
Ne yapıyorsun?	How are you doing?	Napıyorsun?	Napıyosun? Napıyon?	How you doin?
Geliyorum	I am coming	Geliyorum	Geliyom	I coming

In this dialogue, Baran focussed on the assumed 'correct' articulation of the two utterances of his peers, *napıyon?* (line 11) and *geliyom* (line 15). N*apıyon?* is a common expression of greeting used in Anatolia, and it was Gencay who articulated *napıyon*? the first time (line 10) upon Hakan's non-standard utterance of *napıyosun*? (line 7). *Geliyom* can be classified both as a non-standard linguistic feature used across Turkish dialects in general and as a regional variety of Anatolia and the Aegean region in particular (see section 5.3 below for more on the Hackney Youth's non-standard Turkish language use). Although the differences between the standard and the non-standard versions of these utterances might seem very trivial to a non-Turkish speaker, they have significant social consequences in the Turkish speaking arena. Speech patterns diverting from Standard Istanbul Turkish are widely associated with a working-class, rural and uneducated type of person, and such a social representation does not provide access to a desirable social status. Demirci's (1998:211) investigation of people's perceptions of linguistic varieties spoken in Turkey reveals that the speech of Istanbul and nearby cities is considered to be 'very clear, correct 'pure' Turkish, and 'without any accent'', and the people speaking this variety are seen as 'cultured'. In line

with this, Butcholtz and Hall (2004:478) argue that 'language users both draw on and create conventionalised associations between linguistic form and social meaning to construct their own and others' identities'. Favourable social connotations ascribed to Standard Istanbul Turkish among Turkish speakers then help explain Baran's disaffiliation from rural non-standard varieties of Turkish and his identification with the high-status version.

Competing ideologies between Standard Istanbul Turkish and non-standard varieties were played out in this dialogue in which Gencay and Hakan seemed reluctant to orient towards the standard form despite Baran's constant correction of their use of regional articulation features. For example, in line 14, Gencay underlined that he as well as his family used the non-standard version of *napıyon*? (how you doin?), not the standard *napıyorsun*? (how are you doing?), indicating his parental bond with this regional dialect. Alongside Gencay, Hakan also refused to identify with what, according to Baran, was 'proper' (line 9) and 'posh' (line 4) Turkish by persistently articulating the non-standard form of the utterances even after Baran's repeated corrections (e.g. line 15). The presence of the divergent linguistic stances among these boys indicates the ongoing contestation between the standard version and numerous other regional and even stigmatised ways of speaking Turkish.

In the 21st century London context, the continued dominance of Standard Turkish has had a major impact on the Hackney Youth's Turkish language use, manifesting itself in the view that regional varieties are 'inaccurate' and 'incorrect' forms that should be replaced with the standard form. Language policing/correction has emerged as an outcome of the supremacy of Standard Turkish. However, the Hackney Youth have exhibited different strategies in coping with the low status ascribed to the regional varieties that they used in the everyday. The following will illustrate in detail some ways in which these youngsters dealt with the social stigmatisation attributed to their ordinary Turkish language use.

5.2 Coping with regional varieties

In Turkey and in the diaspora, Standard Turkish continues to maintain its prevailing dominance over other non-standard regional varieties. Non-standard Turkish language use is generally seen as reflecting and indexing the rural and low educational background of dialect speakers (Demirci 1998, 2002). The Hackney Youth were well aware of the social evaluation of the Turkish regional forms they embodied in their habitual speech as well as the social representations such language use aroused. I noticed that the adolescents adopted diverse approaches to deal with the unfavourable social images that their routine language behaviour indexed, as I will detail below.

Turkish speakers' attitudes towards varieties spoken in Turkey are well documented in Demirci's enlightening research, which explored the perception and evaluation of regional dialects among citizens living in 'Bursa', one of the western cities of Turkey (see Demirci, 1998, 2002; Demirci and Kleiner, 1999). She documented that the eastern/south-eastern varieties of Turkish (Kurdish areas) received the lowest ratings for perceived 'correctness' and 'pleasantness'. Written comments further revealed a deeper insight into the stereotypical attitudes towards these dialects. The respondents stated that cities in the eastern/south-eastern regions (Kurdish regions) are tremendously 'undeveloped', and the people living there are 'illiterate', 'backward', 'harsh', and their speech is the most 'degenerated' Turkish … the people speak from the throat' (Demirci and Kleiner, 1999:267). The respondents further said that 'they [people living in Kurdish regions] have corrupted the Turkish language' (Demirci, 2002:46). 'The throat' refers to the most stigmatised non-standard consonants of Turkish used mainly by Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin (see Chapter 6 for *G-backing*, *H-backing* and *K-backing*). On the other hand, the respondents had a complete opposite attitude towards the eastern Black Sea varieties, which they rated low for correctness but very high for pleasantness. They described the people associated with the Black Sea as 'hospitable', 'friendly', 'hardworking', 'honourable' and 'spirited' and their accent as 'sweet like candy' (Demirci, 1998:213). The wider society's ideas and beliefs about regional varieties of Turkish, in fact their perceptions about dialect speakers, are strongly linked with political and social developments in Turkey. The linguistic stigmatisation of the Turkish varieties spoken by ethnically Kurdish people is embedded in the political circumstances which have been in action since the founding of the Turkish state. The glorification of the linguistic and cultural aspects of Turkish ethnicity and the discouraging of the aspects of the Kurdish minority, as well as the political tension between the PKK and the Turkish State since the 1980s, has led to serious social consequences. Millions of Kurds had to abandon their villages in eastern/south-eastern Turkey and survive in big cities with limited or no education or proficiency in Turkish. Thus, the linguistic features employed by Turkish speaking Kurds became highly stigmatised and ascribed to the low social qualities of backwardness, illiteracy and low socio-economic status. My participants of Kurdish descent were familiar with the social evaluations of their Turkish language behaviour. In response, they had developed different tactics in coping with the stigmatisation ascribed to their ordinary linguistic behaviour. I will now focus on one way in which Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent, f) dealt with the low social status ascribed to the Turkish variety spoken by people identifying with Kurdish ethnicity.

5.2.1 Kurdish ethnicities and language status

Aliye, a young woman of mixed Kurdish-Turkish descent, sometimes indicated her awareness of the ongoing linguistic competition between Standard Istanbul Turkish and the Turkish varieties used by Kurdish people. On one occasion during a lunch break, Didem (Kurdish descent, f), Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish, f) and I were strolling around the school. Didem was showing a photo of the cat house she was planning to buy for her cat, and Aliye was making comments about it in Turkish. In her statements, Aliye often replaced the velar /k/ sound with the uvular /q/ (see *K-backing* in Chapter 6), a linguistic feature that is strongly associated with Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin (Demirci, 1998), as well as used the expression 'çüş[61]' to convey her bewilderment about the high price of this house in a rather 'disrespectful' manner. Amid the conversation, as a sign that I was paying attention to what they were saying, I smiled slightly. Aliye then turned to face me and asked 'miss, are you laughing at my rude way of speaking?' using Standard Turkish in a guilty tone of voice as if she had said something unacceptable (recording: 12.12.2013). I noticed that in my presence Aliye sometimes became hyperconscious about the way she was talking, trying her best to avoid the stigmatised linguistic features associated with Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin. Aliye's language behaviour in this episode probably arose from her perception of me as a standard Turkish speaker from Turkey. I was born and brought up in a small city in the Aegean region of Turkey, and I adopted and manifested the region's linguistic features, which are less prestigious than Standard Turkish. But, as a person educated in institutional settings where Standard Turkish alone is recognised, I can also use this high-status variety. My familiarity with these two different registers of Turkish allows me to utilise them in different contexts. In formal situations, where Standard Turkish use is required, I can produce the expected level of the standard variety, while with family and friends I often use the linguistic features of my regional dialect. In this dialogue, Aliye's interpretation that my small gesture of a 'smile' was a sign of me disapproving of her language behaviour emerges from her envisaging me as a speaker, and even a representative, of Standard Turkish in that context. In order not to be mocked among Turkish speakers, in particular among those who speak the standard variety, she felt that a certain degree of Standard Turkish, which disguises her ties with the stigmatised Kurdish linguistic features, was necessary. This high level of language awareness that Aliye expressed exemplifies one way in which she coped with the dominance of Standard Turkish in this locality.

[61]Çüş', similar to 'woah' or 'whoa', is used to tell a donkey to stop. However, it has further gained another connotation as an expression of surprise in a disrespectful way.

Contrary to Aliye's tactic, some youngsters adopted a different and even more positive approach to handle the low social placement of their regional varieties in the linguistic hierarchy of Turkish. For instance, the young people with connections to the Black Sea region took pride in using their dialect and did not hesitate to demonstrate their competence in this variety at every possible opportunity. Their strategy of coping with the given status of Standard Istanbul Turkish facilitated a larger linguistic space to manoeuvre. The next example shows how Nuray, a young woman with ties to the Black Sea region, wittingly drew on her regional linguistic features in coping with the alleged superiority of Standard Istanbul variety.

5.2.2 'Black Sea Turkish'

Nuray, born to Turkish parents from the Black Sea region of Turkey, often manifested an immense pleasure in deploying expertise in her regional linguistic variety, which she described as possessing 'a richness that should be celebrated' (interview: 03.12.2013). Nuray's strong alignment with the linguistic variety of the Black Sea region can be regarded as her strategy for dealing with the unshakable high status of Istanbul Turkish. As I mentioned earlier, attitudes towards language varieties are tightly linked with the wider society's perception of their speakers (Irvene and Gal, 2000; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Among Turkish speakers, people from the Black Sea region are generally portrayed as humorous and witty with unique cultural values (music, folk dance, food and so on) living in the most naturally beautiful region of Turkey (the greenest part of the country), and thus their linguistic asset is linked with these favourable attributions (see Demirci, 1998, 2002). These positive social attitudes towards Black Sea regional characteristics help explain Nuray's confidence in using her regional linguistic expertise as a strategic way of dealing with the higher ranking of Standard Istanbul Turkish. The following stylised performance Nuray adopted whilst she was talking about her parents' village illustrates how she deliberately exploited regional features in signalling her linguistic stance.

Episode 3
Participants/Setting: 22.11.2013. Nuray (Turkish descent born in London, 16, f), Sema (Turkish descent born in London, 16, f). Textile lesson. Nuray was in high spirits as it was her birthday. With the '16, birthday girl' badge on her school uniform, she often conversed in her regional dialect giving cheerful smiles to everyone. Moreover, she was so eager to wear the microphone that she grabbed it from Sema, her cousin and best friend in the school. This unexpected behaviour puzzled me tremendously as Nuray would often turn me down or display explicit signs of reluctance when I asked her to wear the microphone. In this hyperactive state, she had no interest in the classroom task, a development worksheet that would help her design a dress.

Transcription conventions:
Arial: English speech
Century Gothic: Standard Turkish speech
Century Gothic (Italic, bold): Non-standard Turkish speech

1. Nuray: Susadım valla, su lazım su. Böle soğuk su, böle
   <I'm thirsty, I swear. I need water, cold water, like>
2. ((putting on a regional tone of voice)) Pekün'un suları, dağlardan ***geliy***
   <Pekun's water, coming from the mountains>
3. Sema: ***Salah*** mıdır nedir ya?=
   <Are you silly or what?>
4. Nuray ((laughing)): =***bidonlari dolduriy***
   < filling the jerrycans>
5. Sema ((laughing)): Idiot, shut up
6. Nuray: Babannem ***soriy***, nerde ***galdın***?
   <my granny is asking 'where have you been?'>
7. Sema: I miss köy be[62], just a bit
   <the village>
8. Nuray: Ağa Baba[63]'ya ***çıkayruz***
   <we're climbing to Ağa Baba>
9. Sema: Just a bit, though
10. Nuray: Ordan aşağı ***etehlerimiz*** ıslanmış, ***ayahlarımız*** ıslanmış.
    <Down there, with our wetted skirt, wetted feet>
11. Eve ***cideyruz*** soğuk ***log log içiyriz***
    <we're going home, drinking gulp gulp cold [water]>
12. Sema ((laughing)) So moist

In this extract, Nuray manifested her linguistic and cultural competence in signalling her connection to her parents' village, called '*Pekün*[64]', through this theatrical act. She widely drew on regional phonetic and morphological features in this stylised performance which she utilised as a means of expressing her pride in identifying with the cultural assets of the Black Sea region. Table 3 includes the regional linguistic elements that the interlocutors deployed in the episode (see below for more on the linguistic features of the Black Sea region).

Table 6

Standard Turkish	Regional speech (Black Sea)	Standard English	Line
Geli**yor**; Soru**yor**	Geli**y**; Sori**y**	S/he is coming; S/he is asking	2, 6
Sala**k**; Ete**k**; Aya**k**	Sala**h**; Ete**h**; Aya**h**	Stupid; Skirt; Foot	3, 10, 10
Bidonları	Bidonlar**i**[65]	The jerrycans	4
Kaldın; lo**k** lo**k**	**G**aldın; lo**g** lo**g**	You stayed; gulp gulp	6, 11
Gidiyoruz	Cideyruk	We are going	11

[62]*Be* is an interjection in Turkish indicating the helplessness of the speaker at that time.
[63]*Ağa Baba* is a rather hilly area in Nuray's parents' village. In an interview she showed me her photo taken on this hill.
[64]*Pekün* (Ünlüpınar) is located in the northern part, Black Sea region, of Turkey in the city of Gümüşhane.
[65]In the standard version of Turkish, the vowel added to the phrase *bidonlar* (jerrycans) to indicate definite article is the hard vowel –ı /ɯ/, i.e. *bidonları* (see footnote 68 for vowel harmony in Turkish). This articulation feature, /ɯ/, does not exist in Standard English, yet it is similar to the /ə/ sound as in 'comma' /kɒmə/. In the non-standard pronunciation of the expression above, the soft vowel –i /i/ replaced the hard vowel –ı /ɯ/ (see 5.3.2 below for the violation of the Turkish vowel harmony rule in the Black Sea dialects of Turkish).

Nuray skilfully exploited stylisation to index her familiarity as well as affinity with local linguistic articulation features as displayed in the dialogue, e.g. *geliy* (line 2), *cideyruk* (line 11) and *bidonlari* (line 4). It seems to me that with her Black Sea villager voice, Nuray implicitly challenged the prestige of Standard Istanbul Turkish by creating a link between the natural 'beauty' of her parents' village in Turkey, where the cold water flows down the mountains (line 2), and the regional language variety used there. Her strong identification with the Black Sea variety is not demonstrated here to argue that the hegemony of Standard Istanbul Turkish is decreasing in this diasporic context. The episode does, however, signal that despite the primacy and supremacy of the standard version, some research participants tried alternative modes of handling the status difference between their routine, rather low-status Turkish linguistic behaviour and the prestigious standard Istanbul variety.

While the youngsters identifying with the Black Sea region were inclined to deploy proudly their regional linguistic features, the adolescents of Kurdish descent tended to orient towards the standard variety. The reason behind their disparate approaches to the continued dominance of Standard Turkish lies in Turkish speakers' perception of these varieties, in fact of their users. As people from the Black Sea region are imagined and represented to be jolly and smart, bringing fun wherever they go, their linguistic variety is considered to reflect these qualities. Nuray's strong alignment with this regional speech form demonstrates how the dominance of Standard Turkish can be flexibly managed when cultural assets receive positive evaluation from the wider society. However, in the opposite case, the stigma attached to the Turkish varieties used by Kurdish people as a result of long-standing political and ethnic tensions demanded different approaches to coping with the higher ranking accorded to Standard Turkish. In sum, the youngsters developed alternative strategies in handling the high social status of Standard Istanbul Turkish vis-à-vis their regional varieties, and their approaches were tightly embedded in Turkish speakers' perceptions and evaluations of non-standard regional varieties, and in fact of their speakers.

I have so far described the continuing influence and dominance of Standard Turkish in my research site and have shown some of the ways in which the Hackney Youth responded to the supremacy of this variety. However, despite some moments in which the adolescents adopted different strategies for dealing with the supremacy of Standard Turkish, they predominantly embraced forms of speech in their everyday interaction which are disavowed by standard Turkish language ideology. In other words, their unselfconscious routine talk largely consisted of stigmatised and low-status Turkish linguistic features ingrained in their low socio-economic background in Turkey and now in London. The dominance of non-standard Turkish varieties in their language

repertoires is a key marker of their working-class identifications in contemporary North London. This suggests that an important social dimension of their ethnicities is linked to their shared working-class position in this North London locality, where people with ties to Turkey and a low socio-economic status live and engage in the everyday. In addition, the habitual non-standard Turkish linguistic behaviour of the Hackney Youth competes with dominant standard Turkish language ideology, as I mentioned above. In the following section, I will give an outline of the key features of the Hackney Youth's Turkish linguistic practices that confront standard Turkish language ideology.

5.3 Competing Turkish Language Practices

The Hackney Youth relied in their everyday talk on non-standard Turkish features which are delegitimized by standard Turkish ideology. These rural and regional tokens of speech manifested themselves sometimes in a very low-key manner through the articulation of a specific phoneme in a relatively standard Turkish sentence (or in mixed Turkish and English hybrid talk, see Chapter 6). But other times, several non-standard forms were combined in an utterance. As I briefly discussed above, the Hackney Youth's unselfconscious and naturally occurring Turkish speech is indicative of the continuous tension between the standard form of Turkish, which is regarded as the most prestigious way of using Turkish, and the rural and stigmatised regional varieties. In addition to this, the way people talk is a strong marker of their social status and representation. According to Agha (2005:38), 'distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users'. Agha's concept of enregisterment suggests that tokens of talk bear and encode significant social meanings. In the case of the Hackney Youth, the prevalence of non-standard features of Turkish speech carries indexical signs with respect to their low social class positioning in the social strata both in Turkey and in contemporary North London. Most of the Hackney Youth's families had migrated from small villages and towns into the UK for economic reasons, but they could not achieve upward mobility, instead becoming stuck in the local economy of North London, such as kebab shops and Turkish/Kurdish grocery stores, or dependent on state benefits. In this new setting, the linguistic aspect of their working-class positioning renders itself through a strong affinity with the low-status linguistic varieties of Turkish. In other words, the prevalence of non-standard tokens of Turkish in their speech retains features of their identification with working-class Turkishness/Kurdishness in their North London setting.

It is worth mentioning that whilst elaborating on the prominent non-standard linguistic features of Turkish embodied by the Hackney Youth, I will specify the region with which

a particular linguistic pattern is associated. This is mainly because 'how people talk in routine unselfconscious speech is a remarkably tenacious marker of place' (Harris, 2006:90). Indeed, the adolescents often deployed language elements linked to their parental places of origin in Turkey. Additionally, the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities also sporadically performed some of the stigmatised language features associated with Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin. The youngsters' shared use of the rural and unprestigious varieties of Turkish from Turkey, in particular the ones associated with Kurdish ethnicity, carries social meanings with respect to the flexible and ambivalent interpretation of Turkishness in contemporary North London. I will describe some of the prevalent patterns of non-standard Turkish employed by the Hackney Youth from phonological, morphological and syntactical aspects respectively.

5.3.1 Phonological

Despite the relentless efforts to disseminate the standard variety of Turkish through state-operated institutions in Turkey (Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004; Aytürk, 2004; Doğançay-Aktuna, 2004) and complementary schools in the diaspora (see Çavuşoğlu, 2010; Lytra, 2012, 2013; Lytra and Baraç, 2008; Wright and Kurtoğlu, 2006), non-standard regional varieties of Turkish are still widely spoken, despite their low status. The Hackney Youth also reflected the phonological features of non-standard varieties of Turkish in their mundane talk-in-interaction. In this section of the chapter, I will present two of the prominent non-standard phonological features that the adolescents employed in their everyday talk by focussing on: a) the replacement of the velar /k/ by the glottal /h/, and b) the replacement of the velar /k/ by the glottal /g/[66]. Due to space limitations, I will be able to provide only a few examples out of many.

i) Articulation of the consonant velar /k/ as the glottal /h/ sound, excluding the word-initial position of the word, is a phonological feature seen in the Gümüşhane[67] province in the eastern Black Sea region of Turkey (see San, 1990). This non-standard pronunciation pattern was often used by the participants whose parents had migrated to the UK from this region. Examples of its use are presented in the following table and extract

[66]The Hackney Youth manifested several other non-standard, regional phonological forms of Turkish in addition to these in their speech, as detailed in Chapter 6 (see 6.1.2.5 for *H-Backing* and *G-Backing*, and 6.2.2.4 for *K-backing*)

[67]My participants who identified themselves with the Black Sea region had diasporic links with 'Gümüşhane', a city which is geographically located between the eastern Black Sea and eastern Anatolia. The linguistic varieties used in this province have been influenced by the speech features of both regions.

Table 7

Standard Turkish	Non-standard use (Black Sea)	English
Ba**k**	Ba**h**	Look
Ço**k**	Ço**h**	Very
Bıyı**k**	Bıyı**h**	Moustache
A**k**ıl	A**h**ıl	Mind
Yo**k**	Yo**h**	Have not

Nuray: **Bah**acam ne orda (...) **çoh bıyıh**ları var biliyon mu?
Literally: look will I what there very moustaches have know you do?
<I will see what's there (...) he's got a big moustache, you know?>

(Turkish descent, f, interview: 10.10.2013)

Sema: Hiç **ahıl yoh** sende
Literally: at all mind have not you in
<You have got no mind>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 20.11.2013)

These examples demonstrate the replacement of the velar /k/ in Standard Turkish by the glottal /h/ in a middle or end position of the word. My participants with ties to the province of Gümüşhane (Black Sea region) often applied this regional non-standard feature in their speech. In addition, the Hackney Youth also replaced the velar /k/ sound with the glottal /g/ phoneme.

ii) The pronunciation of the velar /k/, in particular in the word-initial position, as the glottal /g/ consonant is another non-standard phonological feature of Turkish speech widely captured in my data. This linguistic variation employed by the Hackney Youth is indeed a prevalent phonological feature seen across many non-standard Turkish varieties (see Erdem, 2010; Erdem et al., 2009; Gültekin, 2005; Kılıç, 2008; Kirik, 2011 for south-eastern Turkey; Kocamaz, 2013 for central Anatolia; San, 1990 for Black Sea Turkey). The following examples show its use by the Hackney Youth.

Table 8

Standard Turkish	Non-standard Turkish	English
Köy	**G**öy	Village
Kalem	**G**alem	Pencil
Koş	**G**oş	Run
Kaç tane	**G**aç tane	How many
Kızacak	**G**ızacak	S/he will be angry
Kapat	**G**abat	Close

Gencay: **göy**deykene (…) **galem** aldım (…) **goş**tu
Literally: village when I was pencil buy did I run did
<When I was in the village (…) I bought a pencil (...) [s/he] ran>

(Turkish descent, m, recording: 10.10.2013)

Nuray: **gaç** tane insan (…) öğrenirse **gızacak** (…) '**gabat** onu' der.
Literally: How many people find out if angry will be 'close it' say
<How many people (…) [S/he] will be angry if [s/he] finds out (…) 'Close it' she says>

(Turkish descent, f, interview: 03.12.2013)

Table 8 and the following examples represent one of the most prevailing non-standard phonological features of Turkish adopted by the Hackney Youth. As I mentioned above, speech forms carry indexical meanings with respect to the social status of speakers (see Agha, 2005). These prevalent non-standard articulation features (as well as many others that will be discussed below) in youngsters' talk are indicative of their working-class positioning in the contemporary North London context, where their class-inflected speech is reinforced through constant engagement with other Turkish speakers from a low socio-economic background. I will now continue with the common non-standard morphological features employed by the youngsters.

5.3.2 Morphological

As discussed above, the Hackney Youth's widespread use of rural varieties of Turkish in their daily interactions signifies the ongoing contestation between the beliefs about the ideal and prestigious performance of Turkish and the non-standard forms of Turkish. The predominance of rural patterns of Turkish in their language repertoires also hints at their low social class positioning in the stratification system both in Turkey and in their London space. In this section of the chapter, I will elaborate on some of the morphological variations which indicate this linguistic tension as well as the working-class identification of the youngsters, concentrating on i) different use of Turkish past tenses, ii) non-standard use of present continuous tense, iii) shortened form of the Let's/Shall we suggestion structure and iv) omission of the question particle -mI?.

i. Different use of past tenses in Turkish

There are two types of past tenses in Standard Turkish, namely definite past tense (seen tense), expressed with the affix -di, and indefinite past tense (heard tense), indicated with the suffix -miş, both of which are attached to the root of the verb. The former one expresses the speech or action that the speaker personally experienced and witnessed, while the latter one conveys information that the speaker learnt from another source (see Aksu-Koç, 1998 for past tenses in Turkish). In the south-eastern varieties of Turkish, the past tense construction in Standard Turkish is violated, and indefinite past tense is applied in place of definite past tense (see Erdem et al., 2009; Gültekin, 2005). This non-standard formulation used by people with ties to south-eastern Turkey hints at the Kurdish ethnic background of the speaker. The following

several examples out of many illustrate this non-standard use by the Hackney Youth of Kurdish descent.

Table 9

Standard Turkish (definite past)	Non-standard South-eastern Turkish	Standard English
Al**dı**m	Al**mış**ım	I took
Kes**di**m	Kes**miş**im	I cut
Yapma**dı**m	Yapma**mış**ım	I did not do
Gördüm	Gör**müş**üm	I saw it
Bitir**di**k	Bitir**miş**iz	We finished

Zirav: Böyle al**mış**ım, kes**miş**im (…) ben hiç dans yapma**mış**ım
Literally: Like that take did I cut did I I never dance do not did I
<I took it like that, I cut it (…) I had never danced>

(Kurdish descent, f, interview: 15.10.2013)

Didem: Gör**müş**üm ama bilmiyordum (…) yemeğimizi bitir**miş**iz
Literally: see did I but know did not I food our finish did we
<I saw it, but I did not know that (…) we had finished our food>

(Kurdish descent, f, interview: 21.10.2013)

In these examples the speakers replaced the definite past tense (articulated with the suffix -di) with the indefinite past tense (indicated with the suffix -miş) whilst narrating an action which they personally experienced. As discussed above, routine speech is an index of identification which reveals something about the geographical, ethnic and cultural connections of the speaker (see Harris, 2006). In my collected data, the Hackney Youth of Kurdish descent had a tendency to use this non-standard morphological element in their routine talk, which is a strong indicator of their Kurdish ethnic identification. Another non-standard morphological pattern is the non-standard use of present continuous tense in Turkish.

ii. Non-standard use of present continuous tense

Present continuous tense in Standard Turkish is constructed with the –iyor suffix added to the root of the verb (see Göksel and Kerslake, 2011 for more on present continuous in Turkish). The suffix for present continuous tense in non-standard dialects of Turkish, however, greatly varies. For example, in some linguistic varieties of the Black Sea, the standard affix -iyor is replaced by the –iy suffix (see Brendemoen, 1992, 2002; San, 1990). Çolakoğlu (2013:217) notes that 'in north-eastern Anatolian dialects, '-iy, -ıy' and '-y' are used as present continuous tense inflections' (my translation). The Hackney Youth with ties to the Black Sea region prevalently manifested this non-standard regional construction in their talk, as the examples below show.

Table 10

Standard Turkish (P. Cont)	Non-standard Turkish (Black Sea)	Standard English
Gurulduyor	Gurliy	My stomach is growling
Görünmüyor	Gözükmiy	It is not appearing
Takılıyor	Takıliy	It is getting stuck
Ne yapıyorsun?	Nediysın?	What are you doing?

Nuray: Garnım gurl**iy** (…) niye gözükm**iy**?
Literally: stomach my growling why appear not
<my stomach is growling (…) why is it not appearing?>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 17.07.2013)

Sema: Tişörtün takıl**iy** (…) ned**iy**sın?
Literally: T-shirt your getting stuck what do ing you
<your T-shirt is getting stuck (…) what are you doing?>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 20.11.2013)

In addition to the deployment of the non-standard suffix -iy for present continuous tense, the change of the vowels in the affixes, e.g. gurld**u**yor < gurl**i**y and takıl**ı**yor < takıl**i**y, by softening the vowels u < i and ı < i violates the vowel harmony rule[68] in Standard Turkish grammar. This is a common linguistic feature of the non-standard eastern dialects of Turkish, including the Black Sea varieties. Özek (2009:135) states that 'the vowel disharmonies seen in Turkey-Turkish East Group dialects are characteristic for these regional dialects'. The Hackney Youth with ties with the Black Sea part of Turkey frequently embodied this form in their routine speech, which carries indexical signs with respect to their identification with Black Sea Turkishess as well as their low social class positioning in the social strata in this North London setting. The next section will present another widespread non-standard morphological formation – the short form of let's/shall we.

iii. The short form of Let's/Shall we?

In the south-eastern regional varieties of Turkish (Kurdish areas), the 'let's' and 'shall we' forms in Standard Istanbul Turkish, indexed with the -alım and -elim affixes, are shortened and articulated with the -ek and -ak suffixes (see Gültekin, 2005 for the Kahramanmaraş[69] province). The following table with the extracts from my dataset demonstrates the presentation of the suggestion/request forms in standard and south-eastern (non-standard) varieties of Turkish.

[68]Standard Turkish involves *symmetrical* vowel harmony, in which any affix attached to roots agrees with the nearest vowel. That means that the last vowel in the stem word decides the vowel of the suffix, namely whether it will be a soft vowel (e, i, ö, ü) or hard vowel (a, ı, o, u), e.g *gelecekler* (they are going to come) gel-ecek-ler; *çantalarım* (my bags) çanta-lar-ım
root suf. suf. root suf. suf.
(see Clements and Sezer, 1982).

[69]Kahramanmaraş is a province in south-eastern Turkey. Most of the parents of my research participants of Kurdish descent migrated to London from the rural parts of Kahramanmaraş.

Table 11

Standard Turkish	Non-standard use (S.E Turkey)	Standard English
Gid**elim** mi?	Gid**ek** mi?	Shall we go?
Yiy**elim**	Yiy**ek**	Let's eat
Yap**alım**	Yap**ak**	Let's do
Otur**alım** mı?	Otur**ak** mı?	Shall we sit?

Sema: Çabuk gid**ek** mi bi yere? (…) Burda yiy**ek**
Literally: quickly go we shall one place here eat we
<shall we go somewhere quickly (…) let's eat here>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 20.11.2013)

Zirav: Hadi yap**ak** (…) Otur**ak** mı buraya?
Literally: let's do we sit we shall here
<let's do it (…) shall we sit here?>

(Kurdish descent, f, interview: 15.10.2013)

As shown in the examples above, the Hackney Youth of Kurdish and Turkish descent frequently applied this non-standard linguistic feature of south-eastern varieties of Turkish in their talk. The shared deployment of non-standard linguistic markers associated with ethnically Kurdish people indicates the influence of Kurdish-inflected speech on the Turkish language spoken in this North London locality, as well as the flexible and ambiguous configuration of Turkishness. Despite the continued dominance of Standard Istanbul Turkish and the stigmatisation ascribed to non-standard linguistic elements used by people having Kurdish connections, the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities adopted this non-standard feature, as well as several others, in their mundane speech. The last morphological variant that I will be presenting below, the 'omission of the question particle', exemplifies the youngsters' shared use of another stigmatised non-standard feature associated with Kurdish ethnicity.

iv. Omission of the question particle -mI?

In Standard Turkish syntax, question sentences are formed with the question particle of –mI placed after, but separately from, the predicate. But the question particle varies according to vowel harmony in the Turkish language (see footnote 68) as well as the person at whom the question is directed. For example, if the question is asked to a second person (as 'you' in singular form) the question particle turns into –mısın, misin, musun, müsün? depending on the vowel before the question particle. The Hackney Youth with links to south-eastern/eastern regions (Kurdish areas) of Turkey removed the question particle and indicated the question by rising intonation. Erdem et al. (2009:2538) point out that 'construction of questions with using intonation is prevalent' in the linguistic varieties of Kahramanmaraş (my translation). The following are some of the examples from my dataset.

Table 12

Standard Turkish	Non-standard South-eastern Turkish	Standard English
Biliyor musun?	Biliyon?↗	Do you know?
Çekecek misin?	Çekecen?↗	Are you going to take?
Geliyor musun?	Geliyon?↗	Are you coming?
Tutar mısın?	Tutcan?↗	Can you hold?

Shanley: Nereye gitmedim **biliyon**?↗ (…) Resim **çekecen**? ↗
Literally: where go not did I know you picture take going to you
<You know where I did not go? (…) Are you going to take a picture?>

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, interview: 21.11.2013)

Aliye: Buraya **geliyon**?↗ (…) Şunu **tutcan**?↗
Literally: here coming you that hold you?
<Are you coming here? (…) Can you hold that?>

(Kurdish-Turkish descent, f, recording: 01.10.2013)

Like 'the short form of let's/shall' discussed above, this morphological pattern also crossed the boundaries of Kurdish ethnicity and was exhibited by Turkish speakers of all ethnicities in my research site. For example, Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent) sporadically erased the question particle and signalled the question with rising intonation. Shanley's particular language practice here has shown once again the influence of the linguistic patterns associated with Kurdish ethnicity on the Turkish language used in this North London locality. In the final linguistic description, I will detail some of the non-standard syntactical patterns that the Hackney Youth embodied in their talk.

5.3.3 Syntactical

The Hackney Youth widely employed non-standard regional features relating to the syntax of the Turkish language in their everyday interaction regardless of the supremacy of Standard Istanbul Turkish over other regional varieties in contemporary North London. The predominant use of these rural and relatively low-status patterns of speech is a strong marker of the social classification and diasporic attachments of these youngsters. In this section of the chapter, I will briefly discuss two widespread non-standard syntactical features: i) regional exclamation of 'ha' and 'da', and ii) inversion in Turkish, which the Hackney Youth embodied in their routine language use.

i. The exclamation of 'ha' and 'daa'

Ha /hɑ/, an exclamation denoting happiness, surprise, warning, grief and even 'yes', depending on the tone as well as the context in which it is used, is an interjection in the Turkish language (Hacızade, 2000). People from the Black Sea region often use this expression at the beginning of an utterance to intensify the meaning of the following passage of speech. With regard to the prevalent occurrence of the prefix -ha in this

dialect, Brendemoen (2002:231) notes that it 'is mostly found with the demonstrative pronoun'. The extracts from my dataset below demonstrate its adoption to emphasise the expression, action or event followed by the prefix.

Table 13

Regional Use	Standard Turkish	Standard English
Ha sana gonişmiy	Seninle konuşmuyor	S/he is not speaking to you
Ha bu gadın	Bu kadın	This woman
Ha bunu yapıcam	Bunu yapacağım	I will do this
Ha burda yok	Burada yok	It is not here

Nuray: **Ha** sana gonişmiy (…) **ha** bu gadın
Literally:*ha* you to speaking not s/he *ha* this woman
<S/he is not speaking to you (…) this woman>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 01.10.2013)

Sema: **Ha** bunu yapıcam daa (…) **ha** burda yok
Literally: *ha* this do will I *daa* *ha* here not
<I will do this (…) It is not here>

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 08.11.2013)

In these examples, *ha*, as a prefix, aims to draw the attention of the listener to one particular event, person or action. For example, the expression of *ha bu gadın* (this woman) puts emphasis on one individual lady whilst making a claim about her. But its regional use is enormously variable, and the full meaning can be understood by the context and tone of voice only.

Daa is another regional-specific exclamation of the Black Sea region, used to emphasise the utterance preceding (see Çolakoğlu, 2013; Köse, 2007). My research informants, whose families had migrated from this region, uttered this expression placed at the end of the utterance, in an attempt to highlight their statement. In the following interview extract, Nuray, a young woman who has family links with the Black Sea, exploited this regional exclamation feature whilst talking to me about her favourite soap opera to clarify a misunderstood point.

1. Nuray: Kızın şeyini aldı
<She took the girl's thing>
2. Hulya: Neyini aldı?
<Took what?>
3. Nuray: Bekaret, ***daa***
<Virginity>

(Turkish descent, f, interview, 03.12.2013)

In this short extract, Nuray implied that the main male character in the TV series slept with an unmarried young woman (assumed to be a virgin) and had taken her virginity, which Nuray called 'the girl's thing', so as not to be explicit (line 1). As I did not grasp

what ‘the thing’ referred to was (line 2), Nuray had to openly articulate the indexed meaning with the regional exclamation of the intensifier *daa* to clarify her statement with an additional emphasis relating to the word *bekaret* (virginity). In another incident, Shanley (Turkish-Irish) adopted the intensifier to emphasise the person to whom she was referring. Whilst Shanley and Nuray were talking about some people who had called them names during a lunch break, Nuray could not remember one of the boys and asked further questions about him. After giving some hints about the boy, Shanley added the exclamation *daa* at the end of her statement to put it emphasis on it:

Shanley: bizim orda oturuyo **daa**
<He lives where we live>

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

The abovementioned exclamations, *ha* and *daa*, are some of the prevalent linguistic characteristics associated with the Black Sea region, and my participants who identified with the region often deployed these forms in their talk. Although these tokens of speech might seem insignificant to non-Turkish speakers, they are strong indicative of the speaker’s ties with the Black Sea region in Turkey. For the final example of syntactical non-standard features, I will demonstrate another common speech pattern that the adolescents broadly used in their interactions, i.e. inversion in Turkish sentences.

ii. Inversion in Turkish language

The sentence structure in the standard variety of Turkish is S+O+V (Subject+Object+Verb), where the verb is often placed at the end of the sentence (the word order can change depending on the stressed element in the sentence, which is often placed before the verb, see Göksel and Kerslake, 2011). The Hackney Youth frequently broke the standard Turkish sentence formation order and deployed inversion in their colloquial speech. The violation of the standard sentence structure, particularly when juxtaposed with other non-standard features, strongly marks the low social class placement and rural connections of the speaker. Below are some of the examples of inversion in the Hackney Youth’s routine speech.

Table 14

Standard Turkish	Non-standard Turkish	Standard English
Ablam telefonumun olduğunu bilmiyor S O V	Ablam bilmiyo ya telefonum var S V O	My elder sister does not know that I have got a [mobile] phone
O herkesin geleceğini zannediyor S O V	[O] zannediyo ki herkesi gelecek S V O	He thinks that everyone will come
Biz hiçbirimizin gelmiyeceğini söyleyelim S O V	Diyek ki [biz] hiçirimiz gelmicez V S O	Let’s say none of us will come

Zirav: Ablam bilmiyo ya telefonum var
Literally: elder sister my know not phone my have got
<My elder sister does not know that I have got a [mobile] phone>

(Kurdish descent, f, interview: 15.10.2013)

Nuray: Zannediyo ki herkesi gelecek
Literally: assuming s/he everyone come will
<[S/he] assumes everyone will come>

(Turkish descent, f, interview: 03.12.2013)

Baran: Diyek ki hiçbirimiz gelmicez
Literally: say we let's none of us come not will we
<Let's say that none of us will come>

(Kurdish descent, m, interview: 21.03.2014)

A comparison between the inverted and standard sentence formation in the examples above clearly shows the differences concerning the structure of word order. Inversion is indeed a prevalent linguistic feature of many non-standard varieties of Turkish (e.g. see Brendemoen, 2008 for Black Sea dialects; Erdem et al., 2009 for south-eastern Turkey; Kocamaz, 2013 for central Anatolia), and it also is a marker of the rural and working-class background of the speaker, particularly when it is combined with other non-standard speech patterns.

In the above sections of this chapter, I provided an outline of some of the non-standard characteristics of Turkish that the Hackney Youth widely exhibited in their everyday interactions in their North London school setting. Their ordinary speech is seen as an indexical sign of their social status both in North London and Turkey as well as of their diasporic connections to diverse places in Turkey. I will now summarise the main arguments put forward in this chapter.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I gave a broad description of the ongoing linguistic competition between standard Turkish language ideology and the routine Turkish language practices of the Hackney Youth in this North London educational establishment. The adolescents' strong attachment to non-standard and rural forms of Turkish, which are delegitimised by the entrenched standard Turkish language ideology, signals the contestation between their routine talk and linguistic ideals. The first part of the chapter has shown that the delegitimisation of regional varieties as inaccurate speech forms to promote the standard way of writing and speaking Turkish created moments of tension where the youngsters' actual Turkish use and conventions about the correct form of Turkish confronted each other. One of the sources which reinforced Standard Turkish, while depicting non-standard forms of pronunciation and spelling as inappropriate speech features, was the official Turkish classes given in this secondary school. This

was, however, only one part of the picture. The prestige and superiority accorded to Standard Istanbul Turkish by the Hackney Youth in a general sense was the reflection of Turkish speaking people's favourable perception of this variety. Rather than simply orienting to and performing the high-status Standard Istanbul Turkish in their habitual speech, the adolescents developed alternative ways to deal with the standard Turkish ideology which stigmatised and delegitimised their regional non-standard routine talk. For example, Aliye (Kurdish descent, f) responded to the stigmatisation attached to the linguistic patterns associated with Kurdish ethnicity by becoming hyperconscious about the use of regional features in the presence of a standard Turkish speaker. The adolescents with ties to the Black Sea region, on the other hand, took immense pleasure and pride in enacting the speech features associated with this region. The youngsters' disparate approaches to the lower social status of the non-standard rural varieties they adopted in their routine speech arise from Turkish speakers' attitudes towards these linguistic varieties.

An exploration into the Hackney Youth's everyday Turkish language practices has shown that, despite the prevalence of dominant standard language ideologies in this institutional setting, the adolescents have pervasively embraced low-status and rural Turkish varieties in their routine talk. Non-standard speech features were so prominent that even some stigmatised formations associated with Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin were embodied by the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities. My interpretation is that the predominance of non-standard features in their habitual Turkish practices marks their shared working-class identification in this contemporary North London context, where people from a low social status with ties to Turkey live in the same locality and interact on a daily basis. Their routine speech has demonstrated one way in which their ethnicities are experienced in their North London space, and that is through identification with a common working-class type of Turkishness/Kurdishness which is signalled through their embodiment of rural, working-class, non-standard varieties of Turkish despite their well-recognised low status. This indicates that social class is an important aspect of Turkishness/Kurdishness in contemporary London, a finding which has hitherto been neglected in the existing literature.

In my dataset, I found that another set of competition between the Hackney Youth's language behaviour and dominant language ideologies existed, and this time the tension was between their hybrid speech practices and the linguistic conventions that posited a complete separation of each differently named language. In the following chapter I will detail how this linguistic contestation occurred.

CHAPTER 6

‘TURKISH/KURDISH’ YOUTH and THEIR HYBRID LANGUAGE PRACTICES

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated the ongoing tension between the ossified standard Turkish language ideology and the non-standard regional Turkish language practices of the Hackney Youth at my North London research site. In this chapter, I continue with the competition that took place between the adolescents’ hybrid speech practices and the dominant language ideologies that view named official languages as separate and coherent units, which cannot legitimately co-exist with unofficial registers. I illustrate in detail this linguistic contestation between the youngsters’ actual practices and linguistic ideals in two parts, focussing on i) Turkish-English mixed speech and ii) hybrid linguistic practices (e.g. crossing into Panjabi) in light of Hewitt’s (1992, 2003) theorisation of the existence of local multi-ethnic vernaculars in London. Hybrid language use is a linguistic ramification of everyday social engagements between the descendants of migrants and local (Anglo British, Dutch, German and so on) adolescents in the working-class areas of urban settings in Western Europe (see section 6.2 in the present chapter). At my research site in a London working-class neighbourhood, hybridised linguistic practices also emerged as a result of friendship ties among youngsters of Turkish, Kurdish, Indian, White British, Black Caribbean and African descent.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, previous research falls short of reflecting the enormously diverse linguistic repertoires of London youngsters with connections to Turkey (as well as Northern Cyprus). This is mainly because these studies have over-focussed on dominant language ideologies in institutional settings (complementary schools in particular) and have given much attention to how Standard Turkish has been promoted through official language teaching (see Creese et al., 2007; Çavuşoğlu, 2010; Lytra, 2012, 2015). This has led to the negligence of the vast language resources of these adolescents in the linguistically rich context of London and thus, to a limited understanding of their ethnicities. One of the arguments of my thesis is that a close analysis of routine speech patterns is fundamental to developing an insight into how ethnicities are lived and experienced through everyday linguistic practices (see also Harris, 2006). My ethnographic scrutiny demonstrates that the Hackney Youth drew on a wide range of linguistic tools from English, Turkish, Kurmanji (Kurdish) and other ethnically marked registers which serve to index a particular type of ethnically-

inflected Londonness with working-class underpinnings. That is to say, their ethnicities are interwoven into their local North London and diasporic Turkish/Kurdish connections with working-class inflections that are marked, linguistically, through tokens of their routine talk.

Hybrid language use, an essential component of the Hackney Youth's mundane speech, is an important marker of their ethnic associations. In addition, their juxtaposition of different registers also heavily disturbs the hegemonic language ideology, which postulates that differently named languages should be completely kept apart. I now demonstrate how the adolescents' hybrid practices challenged these standard language ideologies in my research context.

6.1 Linguistic ideals and deficits

The Herderian model of 'a language', omnipresent in modern institutions (see Ag and Jorgensen, 2012; Jorgensen, 2003), views the co-occurrence of features from different registers as a lack of proficiency and competence in these languages. Jorgensen defines the idea that languages can be completely separated as a 'double/multiple monolingualism norm'. According to this language norm, 'persons who command two or more languages should at any one time use only one language, and they should use each in a way that does not differ from monolingual usage' (Jorgensen, 2012:61). This is also a common view of language among people with ties to Turkey in the UK, for as Issa points out:

> The common concern amongst the Kurdish and Turkish parents as well as the educators relates to changing patterns in language use by the younger generations. This is often seen in variations of code switching or borrowing between Turkish and English.
>
> (Issa, 2008:160)

In my research, some of the teaching assistants working in the school as well as parents openly voiced their alignment with the double monolingualism norm. The expectation of 'native-like' proficiency in the standard varieties of Turkish and English, separation of English and Turkish language features, and negative ascriptions when these were violated were the forms in which the ideology of double monolingualism emerged at the fieldsite. To illustrate, Hamit Bey, one of the Kurdish teaching assistants, expressed his dissatisfaction with the daily speech of the youngsters with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. According to him, despite these adolescents having been born and brought up in London, their English language proficiency was far below the required standards, as too, was their spoken and written Turkish. He further noted that they could speak none of the languages 'properly', taking bits from one and adding them to the other. Similar thoughts have been verbalised by teachers in other studies:

> The main barrier for Turkish children is lack of English language proficiency. We have pupils that form their exclusive 'Turkish groups', which only use 'Street Turkish' which has no value to academic Turkish…The end result is they do not develop their skills in either language.
> (Issa et al., 2008:15)

The description of these young people's everyday language behaviour as 'street Turkish' in fact signals UK educational institutions' general attitude towards their linguistic resources. The way they talk has no linguistic capital in these establishments. The term 'street' here connotes the use of non-standard varieties of Turkish and English as well as low language proficiency in the standard registers of both, thus leading to a sort of 'mixed' language practice representing what is considered the 'inferior' street culture. Some of the mothers I met in the school also passed on their evaluations of their children's Turkish language behaviour soon after they found out that I was doing research on youngsters who had links with Turkey. For example, one of the mothers told me how *temiz* (clean) her son spoke Turkish, not like other people's children who could hardly speak Turkish or often mixed it with English. A similar description of *temiz* (clean) Turkish language use, in other words 'uncontaminated' and 'pure' Turkish, was also voiced in Lytra's (2012) study looking into parents' perceptions about the Turkish language competency of their children (see also Lytra, 2015; Lytra and Baraç, 2008). *Temiz* language practice refers to the imagined native-like Standard Turkish production stripped from the influence of non-standard varieties of Turkish and entirely distinct from English. Similar to Lytra's findings, the parents I talked to linked proficiency in 'pure' Turkish language with 'authentic' Turkishness. For them, the alleged *temiz* Turkish was a source of pride that denoted a relatively 'essentialised' and 'fixed' Turkishness. As a researcher in the field having spent many school days with London youngsters who had ties with Turkey as well as having recorded their speech, I observed that these adolescents had varying degrees of proficiency in Standard Turkish, yet their Turkish language practices were not as '*temiz'* as the parents assumed. As far as the Hackney Youth were concerned, they engaged with more flexible and open understandings of Turkishness, which allowed them to exploit linguistic resources from many registers (as well as varieties) simultaneously in their everyday speech, as I will illustrate below. In the London context, the juxtaposition of Turkish and English features in speech has drawn attention in previous studies, where this language behaviour has been called '*Londralı* (Londoner) Turkish' (Adalar and Tagliamonte, 1998; Issa, 2004).

6.1.1 The idea of *Londralı* (Londoner) Turkish

The emergence of mixed language practices among Turkish-English 'bilinguals', labelled as *Londralı Türkçe*[70] (Londoner Turkish) (Adalar and Tagliamonte, 1998), was first signalled in the linguistic practices of Turkish Cypriots in London. With regard to this then relatively new linguistic behaviour, Issa (2004:7 bold in original) notes that 'the uses of **Turkish** and its varieties have undergone changes in the UK by absorbing English vocabulary in its everyday use and creating a distinct Londralı (**Londoner**) **Turkish'**. A report published by the Communities and Local Government also indicates the appearance of novel language patterns among Turkish connected Londoners with these words:

> A new Turkish language, 'Anglo-Turkish', has been forming amongst the second and third generations, where English and Turkish is used interchangeably, in the same sentences and in grammatically imaginative ways.
>
> (Communities and Local Government, 2009:7)

The features of this newly emerging 'language' are construed in Issa's (2006) ethnographic case study scrutinising the everyday speech of a group of Turkish Cypriot women working in a hairdresser's shop in London. In this empirical work, the author points out that he came across no changes in the semantic, syntactic or phonological structure of Cypriot Turkish (CT) and he also highlights that:

> CT is undergoing changes, but this should not necessarily be interpreted from an assimilationist perspective … This process should be seen as the emergence of a 'new mixed' language (Dirim and Hieronymus 2003:42) – forms reflecting the new experiences of those living in urban, multicultural settings.
>
> (Issa, 2006:103)

Issa's research gives insight into how the daily speech of Turkish Cypriot Londoners involves adapting their talk to the linguistic paradigm of London, with rigorous descriptions of how language users seamlessly benefit from the language features of Cypriot Turkish and English in their conversations.

Neither the original emergence nor further configurations of this *Londralı* Turkish language use has taken into account the speech of Turkish and Kurdish migrants from Turkey and their descendants. In this regard, Issa (2005:22) states that 'it is not yet clear how much mainland (spoken) Turkish and Kurdish has adapted the *Londralı* Turkish patterns'. As a result of its narrow configuration, I believe the concept is problematic for at least three reasons and thus requires reconceptualisation: i) it is

[70]Adalar and Tagliamonte (1998) first used the term *Londralı* (Londoner) to refer to the Turkish Cypriots and their children who lived in the UK and returned to Northern Cyprus, based on the participants' identification of themselves. In their research, *Londralı* Turkish is concerned with the *Londralı* Turkish Cypriots' way of talking with a special emphasis on code-switching patterns in Turkish and English in Northern Cyprus (ibid.). This terminology in the UK, however, corresponds to the way in which Turkish Cypriots in London perform communicative acts by benefitting from the morphological, syntactical and semantic aspects of English and Cypriot Turkish in their mundane talk (see Issa, 2004, 2006).

rather limited, disregarding the immense linguistic resources of Turkish and Kurdish migrants from Turkey as well as their children who were born and raised in London, ii) it focuses on intra-group relations among Turkish speakers, overlooking social interactions established with other ethnic groups, which carry linguistic consequences, e.g. language crossing into others' ethnic languages, and iii) it overlooks some of the Turkish linguistic features' potential influence on the spoken English in that locality. For these reasons, the concept of *Londralı* Turkish should be expanded in a dynamic way incorporating a wider range of the linguistic resources of people with links to Turkey, regardless of their ethnic differences, as well as taking the multi-ethnic and multilingual aspect of London into consideration. In this broader formulation, the linguistic descriptions cannot be only confined to code-switching practices between Turkish and English, for they must embrace the influence of other language users on colloquial Turkish and vice versa. My research study, concentrating on the natural speech of the London young people with connections to Turkey, provides a greater understanding of their mundane linguistic practices in this multilingual school setting, and thus, seeks to fill in a significant lacuna in the existing literature. One of the most prevalent components of their hybrid linguistic use, which strongly challenges the 'double/multiple monolingualism norm', is the creative and dynamic juxtaposition of Turkish and English linguistic features.

6.1.2 Hybrid Turkish and English linguistic speech features in London

An important part of the Hackney Youth's routine language behaviour involved hybrid Turkish and English speech. The adolescents successfully juxtaposed a wide range of grammatical and lexical elements of English and Turkish to create hybrid speech in their everyday social engagements[71]. This mixed language that arose through the harmonious blending of Turkish and English patterns constituted a meaningful and imaginative form of interaction. I illustrate below some of the ways in which the Hackney Youth juxtaposed Turkish and English features in their mundane talk by concentrating on: a) the application of English articles before Turkish nouns, b) the use of Quotative Complementiser BE *Like* with Turkish sentences, c) the use of English possessive pronouns before Turkish nouns, d) the use of 'innit' with Turkish sentences and expressions, e) phonemes from regional varieties of Turkish adapted to the English lexicon, and f) the literal translation of Turkish idiomatic terms into English. All of these mixed linguistic practices are central to understanding the innovative ways in

[71]In my approach to the Hackney Youth's hybrid Turkish-English speech, I have not adopted the theoretical stance put forward by conventional code-switching, because the linguistic complexity encountered went far beyond switching from one code to another. For example, the youngsters employed the literal translation of Turkish idiomatic phrases into English without using a single Turkish lexicon. Although no apparent code-switching from one language to another was exercised, as all the words were in English, the expression referred to a Turkish idiom and was incomprehensible to non-Turkish speakers (see subsection 6.1.2.6 below).

which the Hackney Youth moulded Turkish and English linguistic patterns in creating hybrid speech features that signal their strong attachments to both London and Turkey.

6.1.2.1 Articles before Turkish nouns

The article systems in the Standard Turkish and Standard English languages are completely different. While there are two articles in English, definite *the* and indefinite *a/an*, there is only an indefinite article in Standard Turkish, and that is *bir* (one). The understanding of a noun as definite or indefinite largely depends on the context in which it is used. However, definite nouns functioning as the object of the sentence attach a suffix (see Goad and White, 2009 for more on the article system in Turkish). Despite the major differences in the operation of the article systems in Standard English and Turkish, my participants regularly attached the articles in English to Turkish nouns. Some of the examples are as follows:

Gamze: We wanna see **the sınıf**
classroom

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 05.11.2013)

Zirav: Where is **the poşet**?
plastic bag

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 08.10.2013)

Shanley: I look like **an inek**
cow

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 26.09.2013)

Table 15

Utterance	Literal translation into Standard Turkish
We wanna see **the sınıf** (classroom)	Sınıf**ı** görmek istiyoruz classroom the see wanting we
Where is **the poşet** (plastic bag)?	Poşet nerede? plastic bag where
I look like **an inek** (cow)	İnek gibi görünüyorum cow like looking am I

The examples and table above demonstrate that in the speech of the Hackney Youth the English article structure is directly applied to the Turkish nouns. For example, the indefinite article *an* is placed before the Turkish word starting with a vowel *inek* (cow), and similarly, the definite article is attached to the noun *poşet* (plastic bag), despite no article being needed in both cases, as their translations into Turkish show in the table. In sum, regardless of whether Turkish nouns used in English syntax need an article to give the exact meaning or not, the young people adapted Turkish nouns to Standard English sentence structure. I will now continue with another Standard English feature used with Turkish utterances – the quotative complementiser *BE Like*.

6.1.2.2 Quotative complementiser BE Like + Turkish sentence

In their everyday speech, the Hackney Youth sometimes used BE *Like*, what Romaine and Lange (1991) call a 'quotative complementiser'[72], as a representation of the speaker's thought, attitude or/and actual speech followed by a Turkish sentence. In other words, the adolescents modified the structure of the 'quotative complementiser' BE *Like* and replaced the reported dialogue and thought with a Turkish expression.

This quotative system is a relatively recent linguistic development seen in the talk of urban youth across English speaking countries (see Ferrara and Bell, 1995 for the USA; Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999 for the UK and Canada). The diffusion of this quotative structure among adolescents living in separate English-speaking countries in such a short period of time indicates the ongoing 'global' trends in English (Tagliamonte and Hudson, 1999). As far as the speech of the Hackney Youth is concerned, the application of the quotative form of Be *LIKE* indexes not only an inclination to global linguistic trends prevailing in the wider English speaking world, but also the application of this recent youth linguistic pattern to this other dominant linguistic resource, i.e. Turkish, in a creative manner. This language practice denotes how a dominant youth-talk form with its origins in the USA operates as a signifier of Turkishness (as well as Kurdishness) in the 21st century North London context.

Strenström et al. (2002:109) highlight the prevalence of this form in the speech of young Londoners by citing that 'a common and, by now, well-known marker of reported speech in adolescent English is the so-called 'quotative complementiser' Be like'. In line with Strenström et al. (2002), the Hackney Youth also prevalently used the quotative complementiser Be *Like* whilst reporting speech and thought. The novelty in their speech, however, was the modification of the structure of its format, substituting the reported speech and thought with a Turkish utterance, as I mentioned above. The following extract, in which Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, f) was narrating part of a magazine programme she had watched on a Turkish TV channel with regard to the marriage plan of a Turkish singer and his Irish girlfriend, exemplifies the use of the Be *LIKE* structure with both Turkish and English utterances. In the extract below, 'she' refers to the Irish girlfriend, 'he' stands for the singer, and 'they' represents the journalists asking questions about the couple's wedding plan.

[72]Some of the examples from Ferrara and Bell (1995:266) are 'I was like, 'This is my senior Year'' and 'I'm like, 'I know this stuff. I got a 77 last time''.

1. Shanley: You know Serdar Ortaç[73] got Irish girlfriend…She's like 'aşkım
<darling>
2. I don't know what to do today' ((Irish accent)), and they're like
3. 'yengemiz nasıl düğün hazırlıkları yapıyo? Irlanda mı Türk mü istiyo?
<what kind of wedding preparations is our 'yenge[74]' doing? Does she want an Irish or Turkish [wedding]?>
4. And then, he's like 'ben Türk düğünü istiyom ama yengenize soralım'
< I want a Turkish wedding, but let's ask your 'yenge'>
5. and then he's like 'darling, aşkım, they want to know what you want to do in the
<darling>
6. wedding' ((Turkish accent)), she's like 'I want to do the Irish wedding' and he's
7. like 'I don't want that, I want Turkish'.

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 11.11.2013)

In this extract, Shanley, a young woman of Turkish-Irish descent, applied the Be *LIKE* form to Turkish and English statements, whilst reporting the 'constructed' (Tannen, 1986) speech of the singer, his fiancé and the journalists. Two aspects of this act of speech are rather striking: (a) the language selection following the reported format of a Be *LIKE* quotative complementiser, and (b) the 'accent' employed as a paralinguistic marker. With regard to the language choice, Shanley was consistent with transferring the speech in the actual language in which it was conducted. To illustrate, the parts reporting the Irish girlfriend were carried out in English, excluding the utterance ***aşkım*** (darling), which the girlfriend probably uttered in Turkish in the programme (lines 1, 2); the interviewer's question was reported in Turkish as well as the singer's answer to it (lines 3, 4); and the singer's dialogue with his girlfriend was presented in English (lines 5-7). With regard to the paralinguistic cues, Shanley put on the Irish girlfriend's as well as the Turkish singer's voices through the switch of accent in English (lines 2, 5, 6). The Irish girlfriend's speech was reported in an Irish accent and the singer's English utterances were transferred into a Turkish one. Shanley's narration of a magazine programme with the use of the Be *LIKE* format attached to Turkish utterances, combined with the mimicked accents, demonstrates a glimpse of the ways in which the hybrid form of the *Be Like* signals the youngsters' intricate connections with global youth trends, Turkey and London.

There was a considerably varying orientation to the adoption of quotative complementiser between the Hackney Boys and Girls. Although I did not conduct a corpus-based analysis approach, counting the use of each linguistic element, it is noticeable in my dataset that the female participants had a higher tendency to deploy the Be *Like* form with Turkish and English utterances in reporting speech or thought. Some other researchers exploring the functioning of the lexical collocation Be *LIKE* has also noted that 'in British English be like is indeed favoured by females' (Tagliamonte

[73]Serdar Ortaç is a pop singer in Turkey.
[74]*Yenge*, a family term for brother and uncle's wife, is also used to refer to one's wife or even girlfriend.

and Hudson, 1999:160) and '[Be *LIKE*] appears to be used more by females than males' (Romaine and Lange, 1991:236).

After this detailed description of the hybridised use of the quotative complementiser *BE LIKE* with Turkish utterances, I now move on to the deployment of possessive pronouns in English with Turkish nouns.

6.1.2.3 Possessive pronouns + Turkish nouns

Another linguistic juxtaposing – English grammar rules applied to Turkish nouns – that my research participants drew upon extensively is concerned with the insertion of Turkish nouns after possessive adjectives in English. In Standard Turkish, possessive adjectives are used before nouns like in English, yet they do not necessarily exist in every sentence. Suffixes added to the possessed noun serve to indicate to whom the object belongs (see Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 for more on possessive pronouns in Turkish). In Standard English, possessiveness is indexed with possessive adjectives, only without the need for a suffix added to the noun. The Hackney Youth applied this 'zero suffix' rule prevalent in Standard English to Turkish nouns. Some of the examples are as follows:

Shanley: That's **his anneanne**
<grandmother>
(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 09.10.2013)

Nuray: Where is **my ayakkabı**?
<shoe>
(Turkish descent, f, recording: 15.11.2013)

Aliye: **My etek** is falling because of the mikrofon
<skirt> microphone
(Kurdish-Turkish descent, f, recording: 18.11.2013)

Table 16

Hackney Youth utterance	Translation into Standard Turkish
That's **his anneanne** Grandmother	Şu anneannes**i** that grandmother his
Where is **my ayyakkabı**? Shoe	Ayakkab**ım** nerede? shoe my where?
My etek is falling Skirt	Et**eğim** düşüyor skirt my falling

As the Turkish translation of the utterances shows, possessiveness in Standard Turkish is often formed with a suffix (-si, -ım, and –im) added to the noun without necessarily using Turkish possessive adjectives. The use of Turkish nouns in their inflected form following the possessive pronouns in English arises from the strategy to create a congruity with English syntax in which possessed nouns do not require a suffix to index possessiveness. As all of these utterances began in accordance with English

syntax, the Hackney Youth seemed to adapt the Turkish nouns to the possessive pronoun structure in Standard English, rather than vice versa. The following illustrates another mixed speech pattern constructed with the use of the tag *innit* in English with Turkish utterances.

6.1.2.4 The use of 'innit' with Turkish expressions

Innit, which initially functions as a contraction of *isn't it* in London working-class speech, has also come to be widely used as an invariant tag as well as pragmatic marker. The Hackney Youth altered the structural formation of *innit,* placing it prior to or following Turkish utterances to give the same sense of meaning that it does in English sentences. The convergence of *innit* into Turkish utterances is creative hybrid speech, which reflects the Hackney Youth's identification with working-class Londonness and their simultaneous ties to Turkey.

The prevalent use of this speech form in contemporary London speech demonstrates the influence of ethnic minority speech features, in particular those of Caribbean descent, on the language practices of the wider society (Hewitt, 1986). Hewitt draws attention to the form of *innit* in his extensive research of Creole features that have appeared in both black and while adolescent speech in London and he notes that:

> 'Innit' ... may be said therefore to have made the move from creole into the local vernacular, probably via the London English of black adolescents ... 'innit' has become particularly well established over the past few years…Of all the items to penetrate white speech from the Caribbean, this is the most stable and most widely used amongst adolescents and amongst older people.
>
> (Hewitt, 1986:132)

A linguistic consequence of the process of inter-ethnic friendship, *innit* continues to be one of the most frequently used linguistic markers of London youth speech. Andersen (2001:105) states that *innit* 'is a highly noticeable feature of the London teenage vernacular'. Martinez (2014:2) puts the same perspective in other words, pointing out that '*innit* is a pervasive feature in the language of London teenagers'. Based on the findings of their variation research, Torgersen et al. (2011:104) also argue that '*innit* can be seen as an established PM [Pragmatic Marker] within young London speakers, a view supported by its very high spread (84%) in both corpora – the highest of all PMs examined'.

The socio-economic background of teenage users of this form is another aspect that has drawn researchers' attention. Cheshire et al. (2005:158) note that '*innit*… seems to be confined to working-class speech; here, then, social class remains an important division, as it does for the non-standard morphosyntactic variants'. Andersen

(2001:100) also suggests that social class has 'important bearings on the distribution of this feature'.

In summary, *innit* has become one of the pervasively adopted linguistic features in the talk of young Londoners from working-class backgrounds (see Andersen, 2001; Harris, 2006; Martinez, 2014; Stenström et al., 2002). Besides the form's common deployment with English expressions, the Hackney Youth modified its structure attaching it before or after Turkish expressions to carry the connotations of *innit* to their Turkish utterances, as the extract below demonstrates.

Episode 4
Setting/Participants: 22.10.2013. Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent born in London, 16, f), Sema (Turkish descent born in London, 16, f), Zirav (Kurdish descent, born in London, 16, f). Lunch break. The girls were standing in front of the kebab shop near the school and enjoying themselves by singing and making fun of each other. Shanley, the gossiper of the group, noticed a girl approaching and made a comment about her physical appearance.

1. Shanley: Büyük kıçlı kız geliyo.
   <the girl with the big arse is coming>
2. Sema: Ben napıyım?
   <What's that got to do with me?>
3. Zirav: Bizim okula gelmiyo, inni' ?
   <She is not studying in our school, inni?>
4. Shanley: cık[75]. She goes to ((the school where she studies))

In this extract, Zirav used *innit* at the end of a Turkish utterance when she seemed to be expecting a confirmation for her statement about which she was not entirely confident (line 3). Shanley's reply to Zirav with the interjection ***cık,*** which means 'no' in an informal tone in Turkish, and further information with regard to where the mentioned girl studied (line 4) indicates that *innit* was employed to seek confirmation in this context. Although tag questions can be 'aimed at eliciting a response, however minimal, from the addressee' (Holmes, 1982:43), as shown in episode 4, 'the claim that a speaker who uses the tag actually attempts to trigger any feedback seems inadequate' (Andersen, 2001:133). Martinez also suggests that:

> *Innit* can no longer be regarded simply as a question tag used to corroborate what somebody has just said or to verify and confirm a particular statement. Neither can it be considered as a simple follow-up.
>
> (Martinez, 2014:18)

My research findings are also parallel to those claims indicating the multiple functions of *innit*. I will further focus on one more frequently captured operation of *innit,* which Martinez (2014) calls *text organiser*. Martinez (2014:17) points out that the functioning

[75]*Cık,* an interjection signifying *no* in an informal manner in Turkish*,* is similar to the 'tsk' sound in English and is usually accompanied by a gesture of the head moving upwards simultaneously with the expression.

of *innit* as *text organiser* 'does not contribute to any great extent to the factual content of the utterance, but helps to give coherence to the narrative by fulfilling a role typical of a pragmatic marker'. He further notes that the deployment of *innit* in this specific respect is prevalent when speakers are telling a past incident or experience in which they played out the main role (ibid.). I noticed that *innit* operating *as text organiser* with Turkish expressions also occurred in my data set. For example, in the extract below, Zirav (Kurdish descent, f) was narrating a party she had attended with some other friends a few nights previously to Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, f).

1. He was like 'you use' what do you call 'Instagram', I was like 'no'. We was like
2. talking yeah, I was like 'I don't want boyfriends' and then something like that
3. and then basically (..). nenemgile 10.30 da vardım, innit, ağzıma sıçtılar[76].
   <I arrived at my nan's at 10.30> <they shat in my mouth>
4. I was like'Gamze'nin eniştesi bizi biraz geç bıraktı' .
   <Gamze's uncle dropped us a bit late>

The occurrence of *innit* (line 3) with a Turkish expression when Zirav was speaking about her late arrival from the party and the fury her family expressed afterwards, denotes the shared cultural knowledge between Zirav and Shanley. Moreover, the pragmatic markers of *yeah, something like that, like,* indeed, enabled Zirav to express herself freely and comfortably as these are the mode of expressions with which young people identify (Martinez, 2014). With regard to the use of *innit* as *text organiser*, Martinez suggests that this particular form exceeds the boundaries of the linguistic space and takes up a social role, explicating this social functioning as follows:

> On the one hand, it helps to characterise the particular language used by teenagers, which shows great spontaneity and informality, in line with other features typical of this kind of expression, such as the speaker wanting to be or sound vague and laid-back. On the other hand, *innit* becomes a distinctive in-group marker of this particular community, a way to create and foster an identity and to sound different, especially from adults.
>
> (Martinez, 2014:17)

The Hackney Youth exploited the form of *innit* with Turkish utterances as a pragmatic marker to engage the listener with the narration, not only in the linguistic, but also in the social sense. As a result of its resilient nature, *innit,* which is not constrained by the syntactical structures of word order and which can construct multiple functions, went beyond the boundaries of the English language, and it was also used with Turkish expressions. The combination of *innit* with Turkish expressions is an innovative linguistic juxtaposing, which indicates the adolescents' Londonness with a strong working-class positioning and their attachment to Turkey at the same time.

[76] *Ağzına sıçmak* in Turkish literally refers to a situation in which someone expels faeces from his/her body into someone's mouth. This expression is, however, often used as a slang word in the metaphorical sense to emphasise the severity of someone's anger to another person. In this case, Zirav adopted the slang expression to highlight her grandmother's fury at her because of her rather late arrival.

Having given a broad description of a number of ways in which *innit* was adapted to the Turkish sentence structure, I continue with the influence of certain consonants existing in the non-standard varieties of Turkish on the articulation of English words.

6.1.2.5 Phonemes from regional varieties of Turkish adapted to the English lexicon

Standard Istanbul Turkish comprises 29 sounds, but there are many other phonemes existing in non-standard varieties that are prevalently used in colloquial speech (see Sağır, 1995). The Hackney Youth converged two rather stigmatised phonemes prevalently used in non-standard south-eastern/eastern varieties of Turkish, regional dialects associated with Turkish speakers of Kurdish origin, into the phonological structure of English. I will name these linguistic novelties *G-backing* and *H-backing* (following the *K-backing* concept of Kerswill et al., 2007, see subsection 6.2.2.4 below). The adoption of these non-standard phonemes by the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities indicates not only the flexibility of intra-ethnic boundaries, but also the shared working-class aspect of their ethnicities they live out together in the North London urban context. I begin with a description of the phenomenon of *H-backing*.

H-backing involves the pronunciation of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ as the voiced glottal fricative /ɦ/, e.g. *half* /ɦɑf/ and *house* /ɦaʊs/. The word-initial position voiceless glottal /h/ in English words is replaced by the voiced glottal /ɦ/, while with Turkish words, in all word positions, the consonant /ɦ/ can take the place of the glottal /h/, e.g. *ahır* (barn) /ɑɦɯr/. The following table details uses of the non-standard phoneme.

Table 17

Speaker	Utterance	Standard transcription	Articulated transcription
Zilan (Kurdish descent	Hi	**h**aɪ	**ɦ**aɪ
Ufuk (Kurdish descent)	Homework	**h**əʊmwɜːk	**ɦ**əʊmwɜːk
Sema (Turkish descent)	Hayvan (animal)	**h**ɑjvɑn	**ɦ**ɑjvɑn

Zirav: **H**i, miss!
/**ɦ**aɪ/

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

Ufuk: Are you doing the **h**omework?
/**ɦ**əʊmwɜːk/

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 23.09.2013)

Sema: **H**ayvan! (animal)
/**ɦ**ajvɑn

(Turkish descent, f, recording: 23.10.2013)

In addition to the glottal /ɦ/, one other phoneme, the uvular /G/, existing in non-standard varieties of Turkish has been adapted to English phonology.

G-backing refers to the replacement of the voiced velar stop /g/ by the voiced uvular plosive /G/, regardless of the positioning of the consonant in the word, e.g. *pagan* /peɪGən/, got /Gɑt/ and yorgan (duvet) /yɔrGɑn/. Some of the examples from the data are as follows:

Table 18

Speaker	Utterance	Standard transcription	Articulated Transcription
Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent)	Gonuşma[77] (don't speak)	**k**ɔnuʃmɑ	**G**ɔnuʃmɑ
Shannon (Irish-Turkish descent)	Gonna	**g**ɔnə	**G**ɔnə
Gamze (Kurdish descent)	Guys	**g**aɪz	**G**aɪz

Aliye: Sus **g**onuşmɑ! (Shush, don't speak)
/**G**ɔnuʃmɑ/

(Kurdish-Turkish descent, f, recording: 12.12.2013)

Shanon: I'm not **g**onna have a phone
/**G**ɔnə/

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

Gamze: oh, you **g**uys
/**G**aɪz/

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

H-backing and *G-backing* are emergent linguistic patterns that not only the youngsters of Kurdish descent, but also those of Turkish descent applied to English phrases. The uvular /G/ and glottal /ɦ/ are linguistic markers highly associated with Kurdish ethnicity as a result of the common use of these consonants in the south-eastern/eastern dialects of Turkish (see Erdem and Kirik, 2012; Erdem et al., 2009; Kılıç, 2008; Kirik, 2011 for Kahramanmaraş). However, in this multi-ethnic London setting these rather 'stigmatised' phonological features signalled attachments beyond a single ethnicity and operated as a tool for social engagement for the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities. The widespread adoption of the rather stigmatised linguistic markers of Kurdish ethnicity is a salient exemplar of how ethnic meanings are interpreted in a more flexible way in the London context, where migrants and their children with ties to Turkey share the same locality and engage in social interaction on a daily basis. Furthermore, the shared embodiment of these low-status and stigmatised articulation patterns indicates how working-class Turkishness/Kurdishness is experienced in contemporary North London. I continue the description of hybrid practices with the direct translation of Turkish idioms or idiomatic phrases into English.

[77]In the Turkish utterance *gonuşma* /Gɔnuʃmɑ/ (do not speak), two types of non-standard articulation features have been displayed: i) the velar /k/ in its standard version, which is pronounced as *konuşma* /kɔnuʃmɑ/, is replaced by the velar /g/ (see Chapter 5) and ii) the velar /g/ in the non-standard phrase *gonuşma /g*ɔnuʃmɑ/ is articulated with the uvular /G/ as /Gɔnuʃmɑ/.

6.1.2.6 Direct translation from Turkish to English

The literal translation of Turkish idiomatic or everyday expressions into English is another type of hybrid language practice that the Hackney Youth sometimes deployed in their mundane engagements. One-to-one translation of Turkish idiomatic expressions is an innovative example of hybrid speech. To illustrate, on one occasion, Nuray (Turkish descent, f) was desperately waiting in front of the school gate for Ozan (Kurdish descent, m) so that she could reveal her romantic feelings to him, but all of a sudden she lost her courage and gave up on the idea of talking to him. When the other girls were trying to encourage her, Nuray said:

'I can't do that. My plan just dropped into the water.'

(Nuray, Turkish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

Nuray uttered the word-to-word translation of a Turkish idiom *planı suya düşmek* (one's plan dropping into the water) that signals the failure of a pre-planned act due to an unexpected hindrance. The lack of courage thwarted Nuray's plans to disclose her feelings to Ozan. She chose to express the collapse of her idea with the direct translation of a Turkish idiom into English while verbalising how disappointed she was.

This hybrid speech practice made not much sense to non-Turkish speakers, and further explanation was required to clarify the utterance to them. In another example, Baran (Kurdish descent, m) was chatting with a Black teaching assistant at a construction workshop and he wanted to warn the assistant that the tap had been left running. Instead of saying 'the tap is running' like many English speakers would do, Baran spontaneously uttered the literal translation of how Turkish speakers express this situation in colloquial speech, which is *su açık* 'the water is open'. The following extract shows how the conversation went.

1. Baran: By the way, the water's open =
2. TA: = huh?
3. Baran: The wa, the tap

(recording: 27.09.2013)

As the non-Turkish teaching assistant was unfamiliar with the expression 'the water is open', he demanded more clarification by indexing his confusion with the interjection of 'huh?' (line 2). Baran initially assumed the miscommunication stemmed from his low tone of voice, thus he attempted to repeat his utterance with an emphasis on the word 'the water'. However, soon realising that there was a breakdown in communication, he interrupted his own utterance and simply said 'the tap' to draw the teaching assistant's attention to the running tap. This communication breakdown was caused by the direct translation of a Turkish expression into English.

An investigation into everyday talk is an important way of construing how ethnicities are signalled and experienced through unspectacular and ordinary patterns of speech. In the above sections of the chapter, I demonstrated some of the complex and innovative ways in which the Hackney Youth exploited a wide range of phonological, grammatical and semantic patterns from the Turkish and English languages in their social engagements. What these linguistic accounts indicate is that every time the Hackney Youth operated their mixed Turkish-English repertoires they reveal something important about their multiple ethnic attachments. That is to say, their hybridised Turkish and English speech served as a conspicuous marker of their intertwined connections to both North London and Turkey.

As has been discussed above, the prevalence of Turkish and English hybrid speech behaviour, despite its low status and its association with a lack of linguistic competence in this educational establishment (as well as in others), signifies the continuous contestation between hegemonic standard language norms and the routine language practices of the Hackney Youth. In fact, mixed Turkish and English linguistic use is only one part of this competition. I now continue with another type of hybridised speech, which Hewitt (1992, 2003) calls 'local multi-ethnic vernacular' and it also competes with standard language ideologies.

6.2 Local Multi-ethnic Vernacular

In the multilingual and multi-ethnic urban centres of Western Europe, new language practices began to emerge following the arrival of migrants from the 1950s onwards from outside Western European countries. Social encounters between the descendants of migrants and local (Anglo British, German, Danish and so on) young people in the working-class areas of industrial cities resulted in the emergence of novel youth speech formations (see Auer and Dirim, 2003, Dirim and Hieronymus, 2003, Kallmeyer and Keim, 2003 for Germany; Jaspers, 2008, 2011a, b for Belgium; Ag and Jorgensen, 2012, Jorgensen, 2003, 2008a, b for Denmark). In the UK context, Hewitt's (1992, 2003) pioneering research in working-class neighbourhoods in the early 1980s in London revealed that features of the ethnic minority language of Caribbean (Jamaican) Creole were used among teenagers of all ethnicities. The author calls this linguistic phenomenon 'local multi-ethnic vernacular' and describes it as follows:

> There is a perfect model of it in the situation in the UK, where we find both strongly pronounced Caribbean Creole of some kind which is strategically used for certain interactive purposes which categorically include political, anti-racist uses, and, on the other hand, an everyday, vernacular language form which incorporates words from Creole, or even in some areas, Turkish or Punjabi into a basically English stock. This is what sometimes called 'Black Cockney'. I have called it a 'local multi-ethnic vernacular' and also a 'community English'. The point about it is that it is the primary medium of communication in the adolescent peer group in multi-ethnic areas [in London]. It is the language of white as well minority youth and

> it is the language which is switched from and back into when its users choose to move into Creole or Punjabi or whatever other minority language, yet it is itself an 'impure', mixed form…Thus in being unselfconsciously the language of the streets between adolescents of all ethnicities, it strips its contributory ethnic components of any capacity for symbolic stress whilst reassembling these diverse elements, on an ad hoc day to day basis, into a truly mixed, truly 'impure' form.
>
> (Hewitt, 2003:192-193)

In the detailed definition of his notion of 'local multi-ethnic vernacular', Hewitt draws our attention to several linguistic patterns that constitute adolescent groups' language behaviour in the working-class areas of London. He refers to: i) the elements of Cockney speech, the key linguistic component of local multi-ethnic vernacular to which every speaker orients, ii) the heavy influence of working-class Caribbean (principally Jamaican) Creole speech, iii) the use of Turkish and Panjabi in the daily language use of youngsters from diverse backgrounds, and iv) the 'unselfconscious' exploitation of features from other ethnic minority languages. Classified as working-class adolescents in this stratified society, the Hackney Youth widely employed Cockney forms in their language in use. They benefitted from, as well as contributed to, the linguistic diversity in this North London school setting. In other words, not only did the youngsters converge lexical items and pronunciation features from Panjabi/Gujarati and Jamaican Creole into their ordinary talk, but they also influenced the linguistic ecology of their locality by introducing Turkish words as well as particular articulation features from non-standard varieties of Turkish. In his description of local multi-ethnic vernacular, Hewitt also points out the 'unselfconscious' exploitation of these forms as being the language of the London streets. As an example of such use, I delineate the prevalent adoption of a particular non-standard pronunciation feature existing in non-standard varieties of Turkish – uvular /q/ – among youth from diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition to Hewitt's formulation, I also utilise Rampton's (1995a) concepts of 'Stylised Asian English' (SAE) and language 'crossing' to give a better insight into the Hackney Youth's language practices in this multilingual context.

All of these linguistic components, constituting the local multi-ethnic vernacular used by the Hackney Youth, are part of their hybrid mixed speech. The cumulative effect of these linguistic elements uncovers the nuanced and sophisticated ways in which the youngsters engaged in locally-produced linguistic practices. Each of these language components, unselfconsciously used in the everyday talk of the Hackney Youth, reveals to us how their ethnicities were indirectly evoked and activated in social encounters. Their active participation in, and contribution to, the local multi-ethnic vernacular indicates the dominant role of Londonness in their ethnic identification.

It is worth emphasising at this point that the multi-ethnic and multilingual context of the school might have had an effect on the patterns of language embodied by the

Hackney Youth. It might even be the case that if a different educational institution had been chosen, where students of Kurdish and Turkish descent made up all the student population, different linguistic behaviour might have emerged. However, the existing research on ethnicity, which has a language dimension in London, has empirically proven that young Londoners from different ethnic backgrounds draw on a variety of linguistic resources in their mundane talk (see Harris, 2006; Hewitt, 1992, 2003; Rampton, 1995a). In my ethnographically informed research, I have taken my point of departure from these studies and have also found out that the most visible language patterns that the Hackney Youth widely embraced are: i) London working-class English ii) Black-influenced London speech and iii) ethnically marked languages, e.g. Turkish (see Hewitt, 1992, 2003).

Mixed speech forms widely used by the adolescents have no linguistic capital at the institutional level, as briefly discussed above. However, hybridised youth talk challenges the hegemonic language ideologies, which posit that 'proper' languages are 'pure' and 'bounded' with systematic and fixed grammar and pronunciation rules (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011:4). In the following subsections, I focus on the linguistic elements constituting the Hackney Youth's hybrid talk in light of Hewitt's local multi-ethnic vernacular theory. I begin by concentrating on Cockney speech markers, linguistic features which signal the strong influence of London working-class speech on the North London multi-ethnic vernacular.

6.2.1 London speech markers

The Hackney Youth spent the majority of their social lives in the Hackney borough of London, where this research took place. This region has been traditionally a working-class neighbourhood inhabited by white working-class families 'known somewhat globally as Cockneys, and who spoke the traditional dialect of the area, also known as Cockney' (Cheshire and Fox, 2009:9). But, in the post WWII reformation of the city, very many of the local people were placed in new areas in Essex, and the area was then repopulated by the arrival of migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia in the 1950s. Migrant communities from enormously diverse ethnic backgrounds form more than 60 % of the borough of Hackney today (LB Hackney Policy Team, 2014). Regardless of the change of faces and ethnicities in the passing decades, Hackney has remained a working-class borough, maintaining the linguistic features of Cockney among the more recent inhabitants. The Hackney Youth, all of whom were positioned as working-class young people, heavily relied on London speech markers of Cockney English in their mundane interactions. That is to say, these youngsters embodied indelible North 'Londonness' with working class underpinnings as a central component

of their identification ingrained in their ordinary, inconspicuous, everyday speech. I now illustrate the most prominent London marked Cockney features that constitute a significant aspect of the adolescents' hybrid day-to-day speech, beginning with phonological phenomena.

6.2.1.1 Phonological features of Cockney

The link between articulation features and placement in the social strata has been briefly, but strikingly, noted by Chambers and Trudgill (1998:58), who state that there is 'a clear relationship between pronunciation and social class'. Micro details of speech, e.g. word stress and articulation patterns retain features with regard to the socio-economic affiliation of the speaker. The Cockney pronunciation features that the Hackney Youth prevalently adopted in their everyday interactions reveal traces of their identification with working-class Londonnness. The most commonly detected Cockney phonological patterns in the speech of the Hackney Youth are: a) 'T-glottaling', b) 'th-fronting' and c) 'DH-stopping'.

a) **Glottalisation**, the replacement of the /t/ phoneme by the glottal stop /ʔ/, e.g. *butter* /bʌʔə/, *eat it* /iːʔ ɪʔ/, is 'widespread in all kinds of popular London speech' (Wells, 1982:327). Milroy et al. (1994:328) state that this 'heavily stigmatised' linguistic feature of British English associated with lower social classes has been diffused so broadly that 'it is now widely perceived as a stereotype of urban British speech'. Hughes et al. (2012:67) further point out that T-glottaling is commonly found 'in the speech of younger urban working-class speakers'. For my research informants, classified as working-class teenagers living in London, the 'glottal t' /ʔ/ was one of the most prevalent components of their speech. The following are some examples of its use.

Baran: I was just si[ʔ]ing there … couz, come on let's drink wa[ʔ]e … much be[ʔ]er
/sɪʔɪn/ /wɔːʔə/ /beʔə/
sitting water better

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 29.11.2013)

Ufuk: Cu[ʔ] again… mixed i[ʔ]… I don't know where my uni[ʔ] eigh[ʔ] is fam… you go[ʔ]
/kʌʔ/ /ɪʔ/ /juːnɪʔ/ /eɪʔ/ /gɒʔ/
cut it unit eight got

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 28.11.2013)

Hakan: You wanna fi[ʔ]ht (…) you're wri[ʔ]ing (…) he bu[ʔ]ers
/faɪʔ/ /raɪʔɪn/ /bʌʔərz/
fight writing butters

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 22.11.2013)

These extracts from the Hackney Youth's natural speech give a small glimpse into how widespread T-glottaling was in their ordinary language use[78]. Another common phonological feature of Cockney speech captured in my data is 'th fronting'.

b) **Th-fronting** is the replacement of the dental fricatives /ɵ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /v/ respectively (Wells, 1982). It can be seen in words, such as *thin* /fɪn/, *three* /fri/, *thing* /fɪŋ/, *nothing* /nʌfɪŋ/, *father* /fɑvər/ and *mother* /mʌvər/, in my dataset. This is a common feature 'associated with stereotypical Cockney speech' (Ryfa, 2013:61). Cheshire et al. (2008) conducted one of the largest projects exploring the language of London youth with participants from the London borough of Hackney and documented the prevalence of this linguistic feature. They found out that 'TH fronting amongst the young speakers is high: 86.5%' (Cheshire et al., 2008:16). Despite the lack of such quantitative data with regard to the proportion of th-fronting in my dataset, my analysis of the data identified a similar prevalence as the abovementioned research project, i.e the Hackney Youth pervasively adopted this feature of Cockney speech in their everyday interactions. Some of the use of th-fronting in the actual talk of the adolescents was as follows:

Shanley: I [f]ought (…) are you gonna buy any[f]ing? (…) you know his bro[v]er
/fɔt/ /ɛnifɪŋ/ /brʌvər/
thought anything brother

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 11.11.2013)

Gencay: I [f]ink (…) he was wi[f] her (...) [f]ree boys were coming
/fɪŋk/ /wɪf/ /fri/
think with three

(Turkish descent, m, recording: 09.10.2013)

Hakan: page [f]irteen (…) his mo[v]er will kill him
/fɜːtin/ /mʌvə/
thirteen mother

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 02.10.2013)

Additionally, another phonological characteristic of London speech which frequently appeared in my data is 'DH-stopping'.

c) **DH-stopping**, the replacement of the word-initial /ð/ by /d/, e.g. *these* /diz/, *this* /dɪs/, is a language feature of both traditional Cockney (Wells, 1982) and Jamaican Creole (Sebba, 2007). With regard to the Cockney feature of DH-stopping, Hughes et al. (2012:81) note that '/ð/ may alternatively be realised as [d], as in *there's…they're…this*'. In their extensive research, Cheshire et al. (2008:16)

[78]Although I did not count the number of time it was employed by the adolescents, I can confidently claim that it appeared many times in my data.

documented that DH-stopping has been pervasively applied among young Anglo and non-Anglo speakers in Hackney. They argue that the prevalence of DH-stopping in both groups is pertaining to the reinforcement of the old (Cockney) language feature by the ethnic minority speech of Jamaican Creole. The Hackney Youth, all of whom are from working-class backgrounds and living in an area where the Black Caribbean community constitute a significant proportion of the ethnic minority groups, commonly employed this language feature in their speech, as the examples below show.

Ufuk: If you live down [d]at towards (…) [d]ese rich men, all right [d]ey're rich
/dæt/ /diz/ /deɪ/
that these they

(Kurdish descent, m, interview: 19.11.2013)

Sema: [D]is girl was walking with me (…) [d]em dogs are scary
/dɪs/ /dəm/
this them

(Turkish descent, f, interview: 11.11.2013)

Following the common phonological characteristics of the London vernacular that appeared in my data, I turn now to the grammatical aspects of Cockney speech.

6.2.1.2 Grammatical features of Cockney

Grammar is another element of language that shows variation from one vernacular to another, signalling the socio-economic background as well as the family trajectory of the speaker. Cheshire and Milroy (1993) state that people living in urban areas in Britain share non-standard grammatical features, which indeed, mark their lower placement in the social strata. In this regard, Hughes et al. (2012:26) note that 'most non-standard grammatical forms [are] most typical of working-class speech'. Investigating the language practices of young Londoners in their corpus study, Strenström et al. (2002:133) found that 'non-standard grammatical features … were almost exclusively found in conversations involving teenagers from the lower social classes, many of whom have an ethnic minority background'. The Hackney Youth also manifested non-standard grammar forms profoundly in their talk. I focus on the most noticeable grammatical patterns of London vernacular detected in my data, which are i) 'negative concord', ii) 'ain't', and iii) 'non-standard Was'.

i) **Negative concord**, known also as 'double negative' and 'multiple negation', refers to the co-occurrence of more than one negative morpheme in a clause without, indeed, affecting the intelligibility of the message (Edwards, 1993). Construction of negative concord is widespread in all dialects of English in the British Isles (Edwards and Weltens, 1984), in particular, in the south (Cheshire et al., 1993). However, Hughes et

al. (2012:26) remind us that like most non-standard grammar forms, negative concord is also 'most typical of working class speech'. The Hackney Youth also employed this non-standard grammatical construction pervasively in their speech.

Hakan: You kill someone, you don't feel nothing

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 09.12.2013)

Ufuk: Sir, I don't understand nothing

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 18.11.2013)

Shanley: I was like, 'they are not gonna do nothing'

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 27.11.2013)

In addition, another non-standard language form detected in the speech of the Hackney Youth was *ain't*.

ii) **Ain't**, a contraction of the negative form of 'To Be' (am, is, are) and the auxiliary verb for present perfect tense (have/has), 'is a widespread feature of non-standard English dialects … in Britain' (Cheshire, 1981:365), in particular, in the south (Anderwald, 2005). Considering the fact that working-class characters from London in Charles Dickens' novels featured this aspect of Cockney in their talk, *ain't* has been a linguistic marker of Cockney speech for a long while (see Anderwald, 2008:452). The Hackney Youth, in particular the boys, favoured this non-standard construction in their colloquial speech, as the examples illustrate.

Baran: I ain't finished, I ain't goin nowhere

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 08.10.2013)

Ozan: You know what, I ain't gonna argue, innit?

(Kurdish descent, m, recording: 05.11.2013)

Zirav: He ain't listening

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 14.10.2013)

The final non-standard grammatical feature that the adolescents pervasively used is the *non-standard was*.

iii) **Non-standard was**: The past tense form for *be* in Standard English is constructed in accordance with the person and number: *was* is applied to the first and third persons singular and *were* with the rest of the personal pronouns (Anderwald, 2001). But, as Trudgill (1990:98) succinctly puts it, in British dialects 'some … have *was* throughout the past tense – *you was*, *we was*, *they was* — while others have generalized *were – I were*, *she were*. Yet others distinguish between positive *was* and negative *were*'.

Cheshire et al. (1993:72) also point out that the non-standard *was* occurs 'throughout the urban centres of the country'. It is also a morphological characteristic of London vernacular, and the Hackney Youth reflected this non-standard variety in their talk.

Sema: We was just watching all these series, we was just watching in school though

(Turkish descent, f, interview: 11.11.2013)

Rahime: If you was Turkish you say 'napıyon?[79]' and if you was Cypriot, you say 'napan'[80]?

(Turkish Cypriot descent, f, interview: 03.12.2013)

Didem: You wasn't involved

(Kurdish descent, f, recording: 05.12.2013)

All of the above Cockney linguistic features widely used by the Hackney Youth retain features of their working-class identification in the social strata. Living in the most deprived borough of London, Hackney (Indices of Deprivation, 2010), with parents having blue-collar jobs or being on benefits, the Hackney Youth reinforced their working-class status through their everyday linguistic patterns. The widespread occurrence of London Cockney components in their speech also positioned them as Londoners regardless of the intra-ethnic differences among them and their simplified designation by others as either 'Turkish' or 'Kurdish'.

London Cockney speech, one of the elements of Hewitt's formulation of local multi-ethnic vernacular, constituted a significant part of the Hackney Youth's everyday talk, thus indexing the youngsters' strong identification with working-class Londonness, as shown above. I now move on to another linguistic feature of the local multi-ethnic vernacular concentrating on the adolescents' involvement in multilingual youth trends, e.g. use of words from their friends' ethnically marked languages of Gujarati/Panjabi as well as their introduction of Turkish lexical items to their peers from various ethnic backgrounds. I go into some detail regarding these emergent linguistic configurations, explicating how the youngsters manifested as well as contributed to the linguistic characteristics of the contemporary North London multi-ethnic vernacular.

6.2.2 Language crossing

Participating in the social space of a multilingual neighbourhood and school setting in their day-to-day lives, the Hackney Youth and their friends from numerous backgrounds not only developed close friendship ties, they also adopted linguistic patterns from each others' ethnically marked language varieties. That is to say, the

[79] *Napıyon*? (How you doing) is a non-standard greeting form of *nasılsın*? (How are you?) in Turkish.
[80] *Napan* (How you doing?) is an endemic greeting term used in the central Anatolian and Cypriot Turkish varieties of language.

Hackney Youth, the boys in particular, crossed into Panjabi/Gujarati as well as using some Black youth influenced London speech forms, while their friends of Black Caribbean, West African and South Asian descent crossed into Turkish during their social encounters. This linguistic movement transcending dominant conventional social or ethnic boundaries offers understanding of how ethnicity is lived in everyday interactions. Rampton argues that:

> Language crossing cannot be seen as a runaway deconstruction of ethnicity, emptying it of all meaning, but its influence wasn't left unquestionned, invisibly and incontrovertibly pervading common sense … As such, crossing warrants close attention in sociological discussion of the emergence of 'new ethnicities of the margins', multiracial ethnicities 'predicated on difference and diversity' (Hall 1988).
>
> (Rampton, 1997b:7)

Rampton suggests that language crossing widens the approaches to ethnicity rather than completely dismantling the notion. He further argues that microscopic look into code-crossing practices shows the ways in which adolescents reformulate the essentialist interpretations of ethnicity.

One aspect of linguistic crossing that the Hackney Youth sometimes deployed in their ordinary talk, as mentioned above, is concerned with Black youth influenced London speech. Below are some of their expressions that appeared in my dataset.

Table 19

Utterance[81]	Meanings
Wagwaan/whagwan?	'a vogue greeting (a dialectal version of the bonding catch phrase 'what's going on?')' (Thorne, 2014:473)
Blood (pronounced as blud)	'a term of endearment or address' (Thorne, 2014:47)
Sick	'amusing, funny' (Thorne, 2014:392)
Alie (indeed, I agree)	'an expression of agreement or affirmation' (Thorne, 2014:4)
Bare (a lot of)	'very, a large amount or number' (Thorne, 2014:27)
Butters	'ugly' (Thorne, 2014:79)
Peng/piff	'attractive' (Thorne, 2014:327)
Safe	'good, fine' (Thorne, 2014:372)
Wasteman	'a worthless, despicable person' (Thorne, 2014:468)
Badman ting	an activity done by criminals and bad people
Big man ting	a serious business, not child's play
Pagan	snake, liar
Naa	No

Additionally, grammatical features, for example 'me' instead of 'I', the omission of the 'to be' form, as well as particular pronunciation forms, such as 'DH stopping', signal the Hackney Youth's affiliation with London Creole speech forms. However, as I am not entirely familiar with this variety of English, used in inner London areas where the descendants of migrants from the Caribbean comprise a high proportion of the population, I am not able to present a detailed account of its usage. Another noticeable

[81]For a detailed explanation of these slang expressions, see Thorne's (2014) 'Dictionary of Contemporary Slang'.

linguistic crossing behaviour that the Hackney Youth sometimes adopted in their speech pertained to the ethnically marked language varieties relating to their peers of South Asian descent.

6.2.2.1 Crossing into Panjabi/Gujarati

Language crossing into Panjabi/Gujarati was quite prevalent in construction lessons, where the students were allowed to roam freely in the classroom and in the workshop as well as being able to chat with each other whilst working on their tasks. The ethnic and gender composition of these lessons, featuring male students of South Asian, Black African and Caribbean, Turkish, Kurdish and Algerian descent, also seems to have contributed to the emergence of crossing into the ethnically marked languages of their peers. The young men of Kurdish descent, in particular Hakan, Ufuk and Baran, often used the Panjabi/Gujarati expressions below in an exaggerated accent in light moments.

Table 20

Adress terms • *beta* (son) • *bhai* (brother) • jaan (dear)	used to address close friends of South Asian descent. When the Hackney Boys portrayed themselves as an older figure, they utilised the term *beta*. For request *bhai* and *jaan* were preferred.
Vulgar slang terms • phudi • teri ammi (your mum)	employed by the boys to tease their friends of South Asian descent. A big laugh often followed these vulgar words.
Other expressions • chalo (let's)	the boys, Ufuk in particular, would randomly repeat the expression in the presence of their peers of South Asian origin

The young men deployed these Panjabi/Gujarati lexical items only when their close friends of South Asian origin were around to signal their rapport (through address terms) as well as to entertain themselves (through the use of slang words). The following example demonstrates one occasion on which a Panjabi slang word was exploited.

Episode 5
Participants/Setting: 14.11.2013. Baran (Kurdish origin, born in London, 16, m, Muslim), Zahid (Indian origin, 16, m, Muslim), Musa (Indian-Irish origin, 16, m, Muslim). Construction lesson. Everyone in the class was occupied with designing their toy models with thick blue foam padding placed on their tables. Baran, Zahid and Musa were sitting at the same table as usual, busy with their projects and spending the lesson singing rap songs, discussing rappers and making fun of each other. Baran was clumsily teaching his friends how to beatbox, and Zahid and Musa seemed to enjoy the sounds he tried to generate. At one particular moment, whilst signalling disagreement with his friends' statement, in a light mood, Baran used a Panjabi slang word.

1. Baran: Dat[82] one's easy, just go ((making some sounds)), just drop off

[82] *Dat* (that) and *dem* (them) are Jamaican speech articulations (see DH-stopping 6.2.1.1 above).

2. Musa: ((Trying to articulate the sound by following Baran's guidelines))
3. Zahid: dem club tunes
4. Musa: ((laughing out loud)) Ohh yeah. Don't worry, he's gonna be into a club.
5. Baran: Estagfirullah[83], halal[84], bruv. I'm halal ((laughing)) you're like haram[85],
6. bruv. You're like ((South Asian accent)) phudi[86]
/puɖi/
7. ((everyone laughing))

This brief extract shows Baran's use of a vulgar Panjabi slang term as a counterattack to his friends of Indian-Irish and Indian descent, who jokingly associated his music interests with an act that is not permissible in Islam, i.e. 'going into a club'. He seemed to have knowingly placed the slang word following the religious term *haram* (forbidden in Arabic), which was loosely used in the speech of these young men, in general, to index the 'on-the-surface' religious affiliations of his Muslim friends. Baran uttered the Panjabi vulgar term to protest, light-heartedly, against his friends of South Asian descent, whom he thought were 'hypocrites' (his own description of them in an interview dated 21.03.2014) as a result of the alleged discrepancy between their words and actions with regard to the practice of Islam. Despite their tacit criticism of Baran for listening to music and having girlfriends against what they regarded as the precepts of Islam, he claimed that they also did the same. To emphasise his friends' religious conflict between what they said and what they did, Baran used the Islamic religious terms with a slang word in Panjabi, whilst targeting this disparity. Rampton (1995a:271) points out that crossing largely occurs in 'moments and activities, when the ordered flow of habitual social life was loosened and when normal relations couldn't be taken for granted'. The use of an abusive term in this dialogue does not personally or seriously target the young men of Indian descent, as the laughter at the end of the dialogue shows. Instead, it subtly indicates the role that language crossing plays in the convivial management of potential inter-ethnic differences.

There was a considerable difference between the female and male participants with respect to language crossing. Although I captured more than 25 occasions on which the male participants demonstrated their linguistic repertoire in the abovementioned ethnic languages, I witnessed or recorded no linguistic crossing among the female participants. Language crossing was, indeed, a linguistic ramification of social relations constructed with other ethnic groups. In line with this, Rampton (1995b:494) states that 'a common peer group culture play[s] a significant role facilitating language crossing'. As my female participants refrained from socialising with anyone else but their friends

[83] *Estagrifullah* (Arabic) is a prayer to ask forgiveness from God in Islam.
[84] *Halal* (Arabic) is a general term describing the permissible actions in all matters of daily life in Islam.
[85] *Haram (*Arabic) includes all the actions banned in Islam.
[86] *Phudi* is slang in Panjabi.

of Turkish and Kurdish descent, they probably had limited linguistic resources in any other ethnic languages or chose not to deploy any such resources.

I now continue with another common type of language crossing captured in my data, i.e. 'Stylised Asian English' [SAE] (Rampton, 1995a:65). SAE formed an important component of urban hybridised language use among my focal male informants and their friends. I detail its social functioning among the Hackney Youth and their friends of South Asian descent.

6.2.2.2 Stylised Asian English

The Hackney Boys widely utilised stylisation by putting on a SAE voice (Rampton, 1995a, b) to manage certain moments of their relationship with their friends of South-Asian descent, whilst drawing on the symbolic connotations attached to this linguistic variety. I captured 40 incidents in which the boys adopted SAE mainly in their interactions with their friends of South Asian descent. This theatrical resource allowed the users to create a different persona for themselves in managing disagreements and potentially tense moments.

In his extensive research with a group of working-class adolescents of South Asian, Black Caribbean and African and White British descent, Rampton (1995a, b) found that SAE was utilised to reformulate the ethno-linguistic representations embedded in dominant ideologies in British society regarding South Asian migrants. The stereotypical South Asian migrant personas created (reworked) in stylisation connoted an exaggerated respect and disfluency, characterised in 'polite' and 'uncomprehending' expressions (Rampton, 2011a:1243). The following episode illustrates an incident in which Baran, a young man of Kurdish descent, enacted SAE by reformulating this linguistic resource involving strong stereotypical connotations regarding South Asian migrants.

Episode 6
Participants/Setting: 08.10.2013. Hamid (16, m, Indian descent), Baran (16, m, Kurdish descent), Gencay (16, m, Turkish descent), Hakan (16, m, Kurdish descent), Mr Knight (40+, m, White-British, teacher). Construction lesson. It was the last period of the day, and the boys were losing their concentration on their tasks. They were asked to sandpaper their windows and skirting placed in their own separate booths in the workshop. Hamid was roaming around and chatting about football, politics, and daily matters with other students as he usually did. He approached the booths where Hakan, Baran and Gencay were working to participate in their conversation.

1. Hamid: I wanna sit on this chair
2. Baran ((SAE, each word pronounced slowly)): *Brother, this is my seat*
   /bɾədəɾ, dɪs ɪs maj sɪt/
3. Gencay: {…} shanked there?
4. Baran: huh?

5. Hamid: That's my word. Don't use my word.
6. Hakan: Come and help me bruv.
7. Baran: I'm done
8. Mr Knight: Guys, skirting, skirting
9. Baran: Oh, yes, Can I, I need the seat, coz obviously I don't wanna bend
10. down. I'm ((SAE)) *sorry, brother, OKAY, beta* ((son)) *thank you very*
/sɑɽi, bɽəɖəɽ, oːkej bəʈɑ ʈəɳk juː vəɽi
11. *much for my seat, I will very briefly appreciate this*
mʌʧ fɔr maɪ sit, aɪ wɪl vəɽi bɽifɭi əpɽiʃieɪt ɖɪs/
12. Mr Knight: Everyone else do the skirting
13. Baran ((SAE)): *Lads, do your skirting*
/ɭɑds, dʊ yɔr skəɽɪŋg/
14. Hamid ((wrestling with Hakan at the back)): Are you (2) sir you know he
15. shanked in my private.
16. Baran ((SEA)): *OKAY, basically don't do this please*.
/oːkej, beɪsɪkɪɭi ɖoʊnʈ ɖu ɖɪs pɭɪz/

In this brief extract, Baran shifted into SAE on four occasions, while i) indexing his disapproval of Hamid's using his chair (line 2), ii) performing mock a apology and artificial thanks in SAE after the chair has been retrieved (lines 10, 11), iii) repeating after the teacher to remind everyone to do their skirting (line 13), and iv) requesting Hamid and Hakan to maintain order in the workshop (line 16). Baran strategically drew on several linguistic resources in creating the South Asian voice, which were i) the retroflex sounds of /ɖ/, /ʈ/, /ɽ/ and /ɭ/ that exist in Panjabi, Urdu and Hindi and which migrants from South Asia consciously or unconsciously adopt in their speech, ii) a 'deferential Indian' (Rampton, 1997a) image by means of courtesy words of *please* (line 16), *thank you* (line 10) and *sorry* (line 10) in an exaggerated tone of voice, and iii) the Panjabi/Gujarati address term *beta* (son).

In this construction lesson, as happened in several others, Baran adopted SAE as a symbolic apparatus in defining and redefining his social relationships with his peers of South Asian descent by benefitting from the stereotypical connotations of SAE. In the first stylised performance of this extract when he kindly refused to let Hamid use the chair, Baran used stylisation as a face-saving act to lessen the possible threat that his refusal might evoke (line 2). Whereas in the second one whilst he was asking for the chair back, he utilised SAE as a mock apology and false thanks for retrieving his chair which, as he indicated, belonged to him and had been used by someone else against his will. In both cases, a sense of 'politeness', whether it be genuinely meant or not, emerging from the entrenched stereotypical media/colonial imagery of 'deferential Indian' (Rampton, 1997a), was exploited in social interaction with a young man of South Asian origin. SAE also allowed Baran to create a wide gap between self and voice (see Rampton, 1995a, b, 2011a), when he strategically indicated his disapproval of Hamid sitting on his chair. He feigned an artificial 'apology' and 'thanked' him for

being able to take his possession back without damaging his personal relations with Hamid.

In addition to these stylised performances, Baran enacted linguistic stylisation when repeating the teacher's reminder to the class to complete their skirting (line 13) and warning Hakan and Hamid to behave in the classroom (line 16). In both stylised acts, Baran in fact expressed his dominant character always demanding to keep everything under his control. On one occasion, when he proclaimed himself 'the boss of the class after Mr Knight', his peers appeared to be displeased with his bossing around the classroom and challenged this image. With a SAE voice, it seems that Baran, who had no authority to restore classroom order, tried to create a persona who could dictate to others what they should do and not to do in an unthreatening manner.

In this extract, Baran employed SAE as a strategic tool for negotiating his personal relations with a friend of South Asian descent in a way that was not completely detached from the stereotypical racial and media representations of South Asian migrants. The politeness terms of *thank you*, *I'm sorry*, *please*, uttered in SAE, projected this fixed imagery. Baran drew on the deep-rooted historical and social imaginations of South Asian migrants as well as reconstructing them, whilst engaging in social interaction with his friends of South Asian descent. Furthermore, the performance of SAE enabled these youngsters 'to try out alternative configurations of ethnicity in moments that counted as liminal' (Rampton, 1997a:15). These new formulations of ethnicity are freed from old attachments with national imaginations, being grounded in the lived and actual performances of younger generations (ibid.).

The dialogue above is a typical example of how SAE was utilised in this school setting in terms of the pronunciation patterns embraced as well as the social meanings constructed through it. It is important to note that other Hackney Boys, Ufuk (Kurdish descent), Hakan (Kurdish descent) and Gencay (Turkish descent), as well as some young men of South Asian descent (Hamid, Zahid and Musa), friends with my male informants, also applied this stylised act in negotiating their relationships (affinity, disagreement, conflict and so on) in a relatively safe manner. A larger picture of such daily social interaction demonstrates their creation of, what Gilroy (2006) called, 'convivial culture' in the multi-ethnic nature of London. Gilroy explains his own concept as follows:

> Conviviality is a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not – as the logic of ethnic absolutism suggests they must – add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication. In these conditions, a degree of differentiation can be combined with a large measure of overlapping.
>
> Gilroy (2006:40)

The boys' close friendship in the North London space resulted in the emergence of hybrid linguistic practices that facilitated a strategic way of dealing with their on-the-surface social differences (physical, religious and so on). Far from being a hindrance to establishing a strong rapport, their different ethnic affiliations seem to have been regarded as banal characteristics of the multi-ethnic context of which they were a part and in which they built their friendships. Language crossing into Panjabi/Gujarati and SAE are, therefore, representative of the emerging patterns of convivial encounters. Other researchers have also documented that in highly multi-ethnic school settings in London, conviviality is a general state of atmosphere regardless of the ethnic identifications of youngsters (see Harris, 2006; Harris & Rampton, 2009; Rampton, 1995a).

Additionally, the Hackney Boys also enriched this friendly space by introducing linguistic features from their ethnically marked language of Turkish to their peers who had other ethnic affiliations.

6.2.2.3 Crossing into Turkish

As illustrated above, the Hackney Youth, the young men in particular, exploited the linguistic diversity of the locality in their day-to-day social interactions with their peers from diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, this was not carried out in a passive way, simply consuming the linguistic resources available to them in this school setting. For, it was a reciprocal process in which they influenced as well as were influenced by the linguistic ecology of the North London space. To put it simply, not only did the Hackney Youth adopt the linguistic features of their friends of Black Caribbean and South Asian descent, but they also contributed to the existing linguistic diversity by introducing the varieties of Turkish they embodied to their friends from various ethnic backgrounds. I recorded approximately 30 incidents in which young men from different ethnic groups, in particular of South Asian (Hamid, Zahid, Musa, Sharif, Suki), Black Caribbean (Henry, Rick) and Anglo (Jack) descent, used the following Turkish expressions[87].

[87]The adoption of Turkish lexical items was not restricted to students in this multilingual school setting. I recorded and witnessed many incidents in which some members of staff not connected with Turkish ethnicity also complied with the prevalent practice of crossing into Turkish whist conversing with Turkish speakers. Ranging from greeting terms of *günaydın* (good morning) and *merhaba* (hello), to strategic command verbs employed to deal with the troubled Turkish speaker, such as *git* (go) and *gel* (come), some members of staff signified their alignment with the multilinguistic practices within the school setting. For example, Mr John, the science teacher of Caribbean descent, who had worked as a teacher in Turkey for a short period and acquired a limited competency in Turkish there, often brought his linguistic skills into the classroom, in particular, during moments of tension with his students of Turkish/Kurdish descent to restore order. On one occasion, Mr John distributed the books and asked everyone to answer the questions on a given page. Ufuk, a troublemaker of Kurdish descent, who had been made to sit at a desk next to the teacher's table to control his disruptive behaviour, began to fold the book. Mr John had no patience for tolerating even a minor misdemeanour by Ufuk and was extremely irritated by Ufuk's folding of the book. He said:

Mr John: Sen manyak mısın? Get outside! Ne yapıyosun ya!
<Are you stupid?> <what are you doing!> (Caribbean descent, m, recording: 22.10.2013)

Mr John expressed his accumulated frustration and disappointment with this naughty young man with these Turkish expressions. This crossing into Turkish performed on many other similar occasions showed no effect in discouraging Ufuk and others from repeating the same disruptive behaviour. Mr John's voice in Turkish had no authoritative function on the Hackney Youth, but it

Table 21

Exclamation markers • oha[88] (similar to 'whoa' in some ways)	Some of the boys (Sharif, Suki) utilised the exclamation marker to express surprise.
Expressions • gel (come) • git (go) • geliyorum (I am coming) • yürü git (get off)	Hamid, Zahid and Musa uttered these expressions when they were working together with the boys of Kurdish descent at a construction workshop.
Macho address terms • oğlum (son) • len (man) • ne dedin anam? (what did you say, darling?)	These macho terms were widely employed by all of the abovementioned young men whilst addressing each other.
Vulgar slang terms • siktir git (fuck off) • götün güzel (you have a nice arse)	The boys were familiar with these vulgar slang words and adopted them to articulate their frustration with their friends, to annoy them, and above all, just to show their masculinity.

The Turkish language repertoires of these young men included a substantial range of slang words and macho address terms, as seen in the table above. During the fieldwork, I noticed that some degree of Turkish language knowledge was crucial for the boys to take part in communicative events that would allow them to articulate their masculine identifications. Crossing into Turkish was not 'fearsome' like Creole (Rampton, 1995a) or 'Türkendeutsch' (Androutsopoulos, 2001), but it evoked a sense of playful aggression and 'coolness'. The (notorious) reputation of some Turkish/Kurdish younger male communities in North London with regard to their alleged involvement in gang activities (Fountain, 2009) and drug trafficking (Loeb, 24.04.2013) might have indirectly reinforced these young men's decision to learn Turkish terms of abuse and swearing, which they might have thought projected their users as being tough and masculine. Masculinity through Turkish slang terms was the most prominent image that Turkish language knowledge was utilised to create. The following extract exemplifies an incident of Turkish vulgar word use by an attention-seeker and ill-mannered young man of Algerian descent called Yusuf. It shows the strategic way in which he transcended the gender boundaries with a young woman of Turkish origin, while highlighting his masculinity in a very overt style through his Turkish voice.

Episode 7

Setting/Participant: 23.10.2013. Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, 16, f), Sema (Turkish descent, 16, f), Yusuf (Algerian descent, 16, m), teacher (White British, early 30s, f). Photography lesson. There was an unidentified problem with the school network

was useful in other situations, for example, when he drew on his Turkish language resources in strengthening social bonds with these youngsters around the popular culture of Turkey. Mr John was a supporter of *Fenerbahçe* (one of the biggest Turkish football clubs) like several other students of Turkish/Kurdish descent. His linguistic crossing into Turkish during discussions on Turkish football teams enabled him to transgress the institutional (student vs. teacher) and cultural (Caribbean/British vs. Turkish/Kurdish) boundaries between these young men and himself.

[88]*Oha,* originally used to call cattle to stop, is also utilised to denote the emotions of surprise that arise as a result of the exaggerated behaviour or speech of the interlocutor in a comparatively disrespectful manner.

system, and the students were struggling to use the computers. The classroom was getting more and more chaotic. Shanley entered into the classroom (she had been in the other room to trim her photos) and said 'salak' (stupid) in Turkish to Sema in a jocular manner. Yusuf jumped in the conversation with the masculine Turkish address term 'oğlum' (son) even though Shanley and Sema were not conversing with him.

1. Shanley: Salak, you idiot!
   <stupid>
2. Yusuf: Oğlum, oğlum, shush
   <son, son>
3. Sema: Kızım shush, do you know what 'kızım' is?
   <my daughter> <my daughter>
4. Yusuf: Ne zaman?
   <when?>
5. Sema: huh?
6. Yusuf: ne zaman?
   <when?>
7. Sema: ne?
   <what?>
8. Yusuf: Kızım?
   <my daughter?>
9. Sema: Kızım, ((strong Cockney accent)) my daughter
   <my daughter> /dɔʔə/
10. Yusuf: huh?
11. Sema ((standard English and louder)): my daughter
12. Yusuf: Ohh, yeah, kızım
    <my daughter>
13. Teacher ((at the back)): focus
14. Sema: yeah, focus!
15. Yusuf ((laughing)): Götün güzel
    <you have a nice arse>
16. Sema ((she did not understand)): what?
17. Yusuf: Götün güzel
    <you have a nice arse>
18. Sema: üff[89], stop it man!
19. Yusuf: Götün güzel
    <you have a nice arse>

As the extract shows, Yusuf crossed into the Turkish macho address term *oğlum* (son) and the slang expression *götün güzel* (you have a nice arse)[90], while interacting with Sema, a young woman of Turkish descent. Before the detailed explanation of the dialogue, I should mention that the word *oğlum* (son) has two general meanings. That is, whilst *oğlum* simply stands for the family term 'son', in colloquial speech the word is also used as a masculine address term among young males in particular (girls expressing masculine identifications also apply the term sporadically). Similarly, the Turkish lexical item *kızım* both refers to the family term 'daughter' and is embraced as

[89] *Üff* is a Turkish interjection used to express boredom with someone or something.
[90] Some people might argue that the use of this slang term is not innocent youthful macho behaviour, but sexist use of language.

a term of address among young girls who reflect the language of street culture in their speech.

Yusuf was a carefree and troublesome boy having a large repertoire of Turkish slang terms, which he often applied to attract attention and create moments of playful aggression. The conversation began with him throwing out a remark to Shanley in Turkish, *oğlum* (son), a term which was often used among young males to address each other (line 2). Sema then tried to teach him the correct word used for the opposite gender, i.e. *kızım* (my daughter) (lines 3-12). As this apparent teaching practice unfolded, it transpired that Yusuf also knew other Turkish lexical items, such as *ne zaman* (when). In fact, this Turkish teaching simply reminded him of what *kızım* (my daughter) meant as his expression 'ohh yeah *kızım*' (line 12) demonstrated. Yusuf seemed reluctant to end this conversation, and in line 15 he passed a sexual comment to Sema, *götün güzel* (you have a nice arse), in a playful manner which he would not have done with his own voice. The gap constructed between his voice and self (Rampton, 1995a) enabled him to cross the social norms regarding the avoidance of expressions containing sexual content, whilst interacting with the opposite gender. This semiotic act allowed him to articulate his masculinity in an overt but less risky manner. Crossing occurs in moments when subconscious rules and expectations about social relationships are temporarily eased, as mentioned earlier (Rampton, 1995a, b). This characteristic of language crossing made it possible for Yusuf to make a sexual comment to a young woman without taking a serious risk of being challenged or being in serious trouble.

The examples above show that the Hackney Youth had a significant impact on the linguistic environment of the school. The Turkish lexicon, according to Hewitt (1992, 2003), as mentioned earlier, occurs in the ordinary language practices of Londoners from diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, expressions from Turkish were not the only form in which the influence of Turkish speakers on the overall linguistic ecology of the school was sensed. In the following, the focus is on the widespread use of the non-standard phoneme 'the uvular /q/', which exists in the south-eastern/eastern varieties of Turkish, by youngsters from various ethnic backgrounds.

6.2.2.4 K-backing in the local multi-ethnic vernacular

Earlier in section 6.1.2.5, I described the common use of the uvular /G/ and glottal /ɦ/, phonemes, which exist in non-standard eastern/southern-eastern varieties of Turkish, in place of the velar stop /g/ and glottal fricative /h/, both in Standard Turkish and English pronunciation. These stigmatised sounds, highly associated with Kurdish people, were embodied by the Hackney Youth of all ethnicities in their social

interactions. In my dataset, I noticed that another stigmatised linguistic marker of Kurdish ethnicity, the uvular /q/ (a sound in non-standard south-eastern/eastern varieties of Turkish), replaced the velar /k/ sound in Standard English in the talk of youngsters from a range of ethnic backgrounds in my North London research setting. Following Kerswill et al. (2007), I call this articulation feature *K-backing*. The prominent appearance of this linguistic phenomenon indicates that the Hackney Youth not only embodied the uvular /q/ in their own hybrid language practices, but they also contributed to the multi-ethnic vernacular used in this locality.

In his definition of local multi-ethnic vernacular, Hewitt (2003:193) underlines the 'unselfconscious' use of linguistic features from diverse ethnic minority languages among young Londoners of all ethnicities. Rampton (2011b:291) also highlights the habitual use of contemporary vernacular speech markers, such as the uvular /q/ in this case, among people identified with different ethnic/linguistic backgrounds in multilingual settings. He emphasises that it can be very difficult to differentiate stylised speech from routine language use (ibid.). The uvular /q/ was so widely adopted at the fieldsite that the Hackney Youth used it in place of the velar /k/ approximately 300 times with English lexical items and 200 times with Turkish utterances. Moreover, the youngsters' peers from South Asian, Black Caribbean and White British backgrounds were captured adopting the uvular /q/ on 70 occasions in their colloquial speech[91]. I also noticed that the phoneme was so pervasively adopted with English (as well as Turkish) words that I eventually stopped counting its use. The following exemplifies some of its use with English expressions.

Emma: I can't do it either
/**q**ɑːnt/

(White British, f, recording: 15.11.2013)

Rick: Cos he was gonna back up
/**q**əz/

(Black Caribbean descent, m, recording: 18.11.2013)

Shanley: But it's still my account
/ə**q**aʊnt/

(Turkish-Irish descent, f, recording: 09.10.2013)

Hamid: If it comes again
/**q**ʌmz/

(Indian descent, m, recording: 13.12.2013)

[91]During the data collection the microphone was worn by the Hackney Youth alone. The speech of adolescents from South Asian and Black Caribbean and African backgrounds was captured during their interaction with the Hackney Youth. The number of occasions, on which the uvular /q/ was articulated by adolescents of Black Caribbean and African and South Asian descent (approximately 70 incidents), would have been higher if I had recorded their interactions separately.

Table 22

Speaker	Utterance	Standard transcription	Articulated transcription
Emma (White British)	can't	**k**aːnt	**q**ɑːnt
Rick (Black Caribbean)	cos	**k**əz	**q**əz
Shanley (Turkish-Irish)	account	ə**k**aʊnt	ə**q**aʊnt
Hamid (Indian)	come	**k**ʌm	**q**ʌm

The replacement of the velar /k/ by the uvular /q/ was documented in an earlier broad corpus study investigating the language use of a group young Londoners living in the London borough of Hackney (Cheshire et al., 2008; Kerswill et al., 2007). This phonological behaviour that Cheshire et al. (2008:16) term *K-backing* refers to the articulation of the velar /k/ in a 'in word-initial position in front of non-high back vowels' as a back consonant of /q/ and variants of /k/. Some of the examples they provided are *cousin*, *car*, *cot* and *caught* (ibid.). Despite *K-backing* being rather similar to what I found out in my research, it falls short of giving a broad account of how young Londoners from diverse ethnicities exploit this feature of the North London multi-ethnic vernacular. In my dataset, not only did the uvular /q/ replace the /k/ phoneme in a word-initial position, as in Cheshire et al.'s (2008) description of *K-backing*, such as ***can't*** /**q**ɑːnt/ (the most frequently used utterance with the uvular /q/) and cos (because) /**q**əz/, but it was also applied to the velar /k/ sound placed in the middle or at the end of the word, e.g. *America* /əmerɪ**q**ə/, like /laɪ**q**/ and *public* /pʌblɪ**q**/.

Kerswill et al. (2007:6) state that *K-backing* is 'an innovation not previously described and not used by our elderly Londoners'. In another paper, Cheshire et al. (2008:17) argue that *K-backing* 'can be regarded as 'new' in the sense of not being part of the traditional description of Cockney'. They further suggest that friendship networks play a major role in the spread of this hybrid articulation feature, noting 'Anglo speakers with an Anglo network … [are] less likely to use the back variants … The Anglo speakers with a non-Anglo network were not significantly different from the non-Anglo speakers' (ibid:16).

My dataset involves hundreds of occasions on which the uvular /q/ as replacement of the velar /k/ was used by young Londoners of Turkish, Kurdish, South Asian, Black Caribbean and Anglo descent. This phoneme, a component of the non-standard south-eastern/eastern varieties of Turkish, is associated with Turkish speaking Kurds in Turkey as well as in London. It is highly likely that this Kurdish-inflected hybrid articulation feature was introduced and disseminated by the adolescents who have parental links with these regions in this multilingual school setting. The prevalence of *K-backing* found in Cheshire et al. (2008) and Kerswill et al. (2007) in Hackney could be

linked to the high number of people of Kurdish descent living in this borough of London, which influenced the local multi-ethnic vernacular.

In a nutshell, the manifestation of a particular non-standard phoneme of Turkish in the speech of young people from diverse ethnic backgrounds hints at the impact of migration from Turkey on the North London vernacular. The question of whether *K-backing* appears in the speech of youngsters living in other areas of London is beyond the scope of this research, but my findings clearly show that *K-backing* is a novel hybrid linguistic pattern prevailingly used in this school context in Hackney. In this enormously dynamic multilingual context of London, where speakers constantly engage in prolonged everyday relationships, linguistic breakthroughs found in this study and many others are the de facto products of young innovators, who do not shy away from using the linguistic features of 'others'.

In the above sections of this chapter, I have described in detail some key components constituting the local multi-ethnic vernacular of the North London urban space upon which the Hackney Youth drew in their social engagements. The cumulative effect of these speech tokens provides a close insight into how their ethnicities were signalled, operated and experienced in the relatively low-key practices of the everyday. Besides, these linguistic resources allowed the adolescents to negotiate their social boundaries, incongruity and rapport within a convivial culture in which they perceived their different stances as banal and ordinary. The examples have so far illustrated the elements of hybrid speech separately in order to make them intelligible and lucid. The following dialogue presenting the different elements of local multi-ethnic vernacular integrated into a single episode exemplifies the joint use of these linguistic markers in naturally occurring interaction.

6.2.2.5 Integrated example of local multi-ethnic vernacular

The linguistic patterns forming Hewitt's theory of local multi-ethnic vernacular have been individually presented in the previous sections of the chapter. Below is a brief interactional data example illustrating the Hackney Youth's successful integrated use of these linguistic resources.

Episode 8
Setting/Participants: 25.10.2013. Baran (Kurdish descent, 16, m), Hakan (Kurdish descent, 16, m), Mr Knight (White British, 40+, m). Construction lesson. It was the beginning of the lesson, and the students had moved into the workshop to paint their doors and windows. Mr Knight sent Hakan and Baran to a teaching assistant's (Laura) room to bring some extra paint. Upon arrival, they found that the door was locked and no one was there. On their way back, they bumped into Mr Knight in the garden and began explaining what had happened.

Transcription conventions:
Arial: English speech
Century Gothic: Standard Turkish speech
Century Gothic (italic, bold): Non-standard Turkish speech
Calibri (body): Kurdish (Kurmanji)

1. Baran: We need the keys for th thing for Laura's room coz she's not there
   /fɪŋ/ /dər/
2. Mr Knight: I'll go then
3. Baran: All right
4. Hakan: Shall I come Sir?
   /qʌm/
5. Mr Knight: No
6. Baran: He'll be all right (3). Gel Hakan gel
   <come Hakan come>
7. ((Kurmanji)) Apè te dıge şekır bıde te were were were ((giggling))
   <Your uncle will give you sweets, come, come, come>
8. Look at this guy ((sounds like he is wrestling with Hakan))
   /dɪs/
9. Tamam yeter insan ol! ooo Hakan, ooo
   <OKAY, enough, behave yourself, ooo Hakan ooo>
10. Hakan: Telefonumu götürdü
    <He took my phone away,
11. Baran: Ben mi götürdüm?
    <Did I take it away?>
12. Hakan: ***Namıssız***
    <immoral>

Table 23

Detailed classification of the language varieties used in the dialogue		
Language Feature	Location	Utterance
London Cockney	Line 1	thing /fɪŋ/
Jamaican Creole	Lines 1, 8	there /dər/;this /dɪs/
The uvular /q/ (non-standard phoneme)	Line 4	come /qʌm/
Standard Turkish	Lines 6, 9, 10,11	
Kurmanji (Kurdish language)	Line 7	
Non-standard Turkish (Kurdish regional features)	Line 12	namıssız

This brief extract not only exemplifes the tremendously diverse linguistic repertoires of these young men, as demonstrated in the table, but also their skilful application of these resources in producing various ethnically marked meanings. In line 7, Baran shifted the register from Standard Turkish to Kurmanji, playfully performing 'a-bad-man' who traps children with sweets and abuses them. Hakan aligned with Baran's call and wrestled with him until Baran, the initiator, decided to terminate the game with a warning in Standard Turkish, i.e. *insan ol* (behave) (line 9). Hakan then expressed his frustration by putting on a strong Kurdish accent in the Turkish derogatory expression *namussuz* (immoral), articulated as *namıssız* (line 12), which was directed at the teacher.

A close lens into the interaction shows how the linguistic markers were utilised in real life social engagements. In line 1, Baran manifested the Cockney speech marker 'th

fronting' and Creole feature 'DH-stopping' whilst talking to Mr Knight, a teacher whom Baran and Hakan held him in considerable respect and felt at ease in his presence. In line 3, when Hakan offered help to Mr Knight, most probably due to Mr Knight's disability with one of his hands, he articulated the velar /k/ phoneme in the verb *come* with the uvular /q/ (see *K-backing* 6.2.2.4 above). Kurmanji operated as a call for a playful game under the disguise of a 'malicious' older man abusing children in a theatrical performance (line 7). When Baran ordered Hakan to do something, e.g. *gel* (come) (line 6) and *yeter, insan ol* (enough, behave yourself) (line 9), it is striking that he preferred to adopt Standard Turkish. However, non-standard Turkish was used in the pejorative phrase directed at the teacher.

This social interaction demonstrates that hybrid speech practices, as well as the linguistic elements of local multi-ethnic vernacular as markers of particular Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities, are relevant to the Hackney Youth in contemporary London. Their ambivalent and fleeting identifications with Kurdishness, Turkishness and Londonness with social class inflections are reflected in this dialogue in which the strategic use of the components of the local multi-ethnic vernacular reveals numerous ethnic possibilities. One criticism that could be mounted is that multi-ethnic and hybrid identities cannot be necessarily 'read off' from patterns of language behaviour and linguistic sharing despite language being one of the most dominant aspects of our everyday life. However, it is clear from my findings that the Hackney Youth also participated in hybrid cultural practices apart from the narrowly linguistic, e.g. boys' patterns of consumption of music (see 7.5.1 below) and girls' modes of folk dance costume linked with the traditional Turkish and contemporary London youth way of dressing (see 7.4 below), as will be elaborated upon in the following chapter.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given a detailed account of two different types of the Hackney Youth's hybrid linguistic practices – Turkish and English mixed speech and the local multi-ethnic vernacular – which compete with hegemonic ideas about the existence of natural, pure and bounded languages. The first part demonstrated the adolescents' relatively systematic and creative juxtaposing of Turkish-English grammatical and phonological features, although hybrid linguistic formations were not considered to be 'proper' speech in the school setting. The Hackney Youth strategically exploited their linguistic repertoires from both registers, ranging from the use of *innit* with Turkish utterances to literal translation of idiomatic Turkish expressions, to constructing hybrid forms that indicated their dynamic and simultaneous ties with London and Turkey.

The second part of the adolescents' hybrid speech features that contested dominant language ideologies was analysed in light of Hewitt's theorisation of the local multi-ethnic vernacular. Hewitt's theory incorporates the diverse linguistic features that young Londoners exploit in their day-to-day interaction (with a particular focus on London working-class and Jamaican Creole derived speech features) and projects a broader perspective on the youth speech phenomena by drawing on the linguistic multiplicity of the locality. I began the linguistic patterns of the multi-ethnic vernacular adopted by the Hackney Youth by delineating London Cockney speech markers. The youngsters' heavy dependence on these features strongly signified their entrenched working-class inflected Londonness as a prominent part of their identification, as observed in their daily talk. Another significant aspect of the local multi-ethnic vernacular in this school setting was concerned with linguistic crossing. A close inspection of their crossing practices showed that not only did the Hackney youth take part in the local hybridised language practices (e.g. crossing into Panjabi/Gujarati, SAE), but they also contributed to this linguistic plurality by introducing lexicon and phonological features from the linguistic varieties of Turkish (e.g. crossing into Turkish, *K-backing*). The social connotations linked with these linguistic resources allowed the Hackney Youth as well as their peers to negotiate their everyday social relationships within a convivial culture. I also touched upon *K-backing* as a significant linguistic feature highly ingrained in the speech of youngsters from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The prominence of the *K-backing* as well as crossing into Turkish, evinces the linguistic impact of migration from Turkey on the multi-ethnic vernacular of North London, which is being practised by youngsters from a range of ethnic affiliations.

One of the contentions of my thesis is that paying close analytical attention to routine speech expands our understanding of how youth ethnicities are experienced and lived in the ethnically superdiverse context of London. The detailed linguistic descriptions given above bring out the multi-faceted and complex nature of ethnicities that are signalled through the creation of locally embedded hybrid speech formations. Such a dynamic approach to ethnicities further destabilises the essentialist configurations of ethnicity typically associated with colour/race or nation-states. As the examples in this chapter have abundantly shown, the Hackney Youth's ethnic affiliations were created anew and constantly reframed around their momentary and ambivalent identifications with working-class Londonness, Turkishness and Kurdishness. Besides indirectly contesting the rigid, nation-centric and homogenous ascriptions to their ethnicities, whether it be called 'Turkish-speaking', 'Kurdish' or 'Turkish', these adolescents' language behaviour unfolds the multi-faceted and intricate nature of their ethnic

positioning, which are continuously reshaped in the multi-ethnic and multilingual space of contemporary London superdiversity.

In addition to habitual language behaviour, another way of studying ethnicities in the everyday is to focus on popular cultural engagements. In the following chapter, I will demonstrate some of the ways in which the Hackney Youth have drawn on popular cultural forms emanating from Turkey and Britain/USA, which reveal something about their ethnic affiliations.

CHAPTER 7

POPULAR CULTURE and TURKISH/KURDISH ETHNICITIES

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter I concentrate on the relationship between popular culture and the Hackney Youth's ethnic attachments. This is because I argue that investigation into popular cultural practices is an important way of understanding the nature of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities in contemporary London. Ibrahim (1999:365) argues that 'one invests where one sees oneself mirrored'. The daily popular cultural engagement of these young people is, then, their investment in 'something' with which they identify ethnically, culturally and socially. In my data, the Hackney Youth's participation in a wide range of popular cultural activities was very prominent. Their involvement ranged across television, film, music, dance and football[92]. I provide a detailed account of how the adolescents engaged with these forms of popular culture that indicate their identification with different versions of Turkishness/Kurdishness. In my collected data, there were also British/Anglo-inflected aspects of popular culture, i.e. rap/hip-hop and football, which serve to reveal the boys' identifications with British urban masculinities. At the end of the chapter, I focus on these gendered elements of popular culture and show how they reflected the Hackney Boy's masculine stances.

Previous UK based research on Turkishness and popular culture has tended to focus on transnational Turkish television alone. These studies have mainly critiqued the idea of an 'imagined' transnational Turkish community watching the same Turkish television simply to be in touch with Turkey and Turkish cultural productions (see Aksoy and Robins, 2000, 2003; Robins and Aksoy, 2004, 2005). Aksoy and Robins note that this projection is tremendously narrow, because:

> It seeks to understand transnational developments through what are essentially categories of the national imaginary - and is consequently blind to whatever it is that might be new about emerging transnational media cultures.
>
> (Aksoy and Robins, 2003:90)

It has been widely accepted in these studies that it is problematic to study transnational Turkish television while imagining a single unified Turkish ethnicity. However, they have failed to provide specific descriptions of how subjects engage with transnational Turkish television and move beyond the spectrum of transnational TV into wider aspects of popular culture. My focus in this chapter is aimed at overcoming these limitations by (a) giving a detailed account of the Hackney Youth's participation in

[92]There was gender variation in the Hackney Youth's popular cultural tastes such that the girls took an interest in elements strictly tied to Turkey, whereas the boys tended to consume markedly Anglo/British popular cultural forms such as English football clubs and Anglo rap/hip-hop music.

Turkish television through soap operas, by (b) dealing not only with transnational TV, but also other elements of popular popular culture, such as film, music, dance and sport, which were important among them, by (c) demonstrating how the Hackney Youth's engagement with popular culture showed their affiliations with very specific types of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities. I begin by discussing the transnational Turkish media experiences of the Hackney Youth, with particular reference to Turkish soap operas, which stimulated their alignment with different kinds of Turkishnhamess.

7.1 The Hackney Youth and Turkish television dramas

In this section of the chapter, I explain the links between ethnicities and soap opera that was a specific genre which featured heavily in the data I collected. All of the youngsters, in particular the girls, expressed a relatively strong attachment to transnational Turkish media; they stated that they watched at least one Turkish soap opera every week. There were over 70 substantial references to Turkish soap operas in my data, with themes ranging from a love story between two young people from different social classes, to adventurous life stories of a group of police officers and to the reign of an Ottoman Sultan. Some of the TV series to which my research participants referred are *Güneşi Beklerken*[93] (Waiting for the sun), *Med-cezir*[94] (The tide), *Arka Sokaklar*[95] (Back Streets), *Fatih Harbiye*[96], *Pis Yedili*[97] (Dirty Seven), *Yaprak Dökümü*[98] (Fallen Leaves), *Muhteşem Yüzyıl*[99] (The Magnificent Century), *Kaçak*[100] (Escapee), *Kanıt*[101] (Proof), *Gece Gündüz*[102] (Day and Night), *Çalıkuşu* (The Wren)[103], *Doksanlar*[104] (The Nineties), *Benim için üzülme*[105] (Do not feel sorry for me) and *Aşk-ı*

[93]*Güneşi Beklerken* (Waiting for the Sun) is a teen drama characterising a complicated love story between young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in a private secondary school setting in Istanbul.
[94]*Med-cezir* is an adaptation of the American teen drama 'The O.C' (for the differences between the two, see http://www.vulture.com/2013/09/the-oc-turkish-oc-comparison.html accessed on 18.03.2016).
[95]*Arka Sokaklar* (Back Streets) is a detective TV series describing the adventures as well as family lives of a group of police officers chasing criminals on a daily basis.
[96]*Fatih Harbiye*, an adaptation of a novel written in the post republican period in the 1920s to contemporary Turkey, characterises the tensions between tradition and modernity through the main female character.
[97]*Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven) is a teen soap opera concerned with the adventures of seven working class adolescents from one of the slums of Istanbul in a middle class private school.
[98]*Yaprak Dökümü* (Fallen leaves), adapted from a novel in the early republican period (the 1920s) to contemporary Turkey, depicts the family clashes between a conservative father and his children thriving for a more modern life.
[99]*Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century) unfolds the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) in a fictional way and is based on the rivalries within the Sultan's Harem.
[100]*Kaçak* (Escapee) is concerned with confrontations occurring between the police and mafia by focussing on an ex police officer fighting to take revenge for his son who was killed by the mafia.
[101]*Kanıt* (Proof) is an adaptation of the American police procedural television series of 'CSI:NY', investigating the crime scene through forensic evidence.
[102]*Gece Gündüz* (Day and Night) describes the adventures of two completely different police officers – one of them patient, organised and cautious, whereas the other is rebellious and brave – in an entertaining manner.
[103]*Calıkuşu* (The Wren) is a soap adapted from a novel written with the same name narrating a love story between two young people in Republican Turkey in the 1920s.
[104]*Doksanlar* (The Nineties) portrays the enormous change that people experienced in that decade in Turkey, beginning with the introduction of new technological devices such as coloured TV, cassette players and so on.
[105]*Benim için üzülme* (Do not feel sorry for me) is concerned with a love story between the daughter of a Kurdish family, which migrated to a village in the Black Sea region of Turkey for seasonal labour work (tea harvest), and twin brothers living in that village.

Memnu[106] (Forbidden Love). I focus on a small selection of soap operas, each of which offered the Hackney Youth the possibility to identify with a specific kind of Turkish ethnicity. The examples are:

(a) *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven), which offers a specific kind of contemporary urban Istanbul working-class Turkish ethnicity.
(b) *Benim için üzülme* (Do not feel sorry for me), which is based on identifiably Black Sea Turkish ethnicities.
(c) *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (Magnificent Century), which embraces a complex Ottoman ethnicity, but is also rather ambiguous about its ethnic positioning.

A close analysis of the youngsters' engagements with these soap operas demonstrates their identification with different versions of Turkishness. In this regard, Aksoy and Robin (2000:343) note 'Turkish television culture is now quite diverse, as also are the audiences that watch it – there are many different ways of being Turkish now'. To start with the most popular Turkish drama enthusiastically followed by all of the Hackney Youth (including the boys who generally showed little interest in Turkish soap operas), *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven), I show how their attraction to this particular TV series implies their affiliation with urban working-class dimension of Turkishness.

7.1.2 Pis Yedili (Dirty Seven)[107]: Istanbul urban working-class youth

Pis Yedili (Dirty Seven) predominantly portrays contemporary urban Istanbul working-class Turkishness to which the Hackney Youth indicated affiliation by directly identifying with the soap characters. This Turkish TV drama is concerned with the social class relations between seven working-class adolescents from one of the slums of Istanbul, who get transferred to a middle class private school after their own school is destroyed in a fire, and students from a higher social class in that private school. *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven) describes the secondary school experiences of a group of naughty close friends inhabiting one of the poorest regions of Istanbul in an entertaining manner. In their interviews with me and talk between themselves, the Hackney Youth referred to the soap many times as well as identified themselves or their friends with the working-class soap characters. My impression was that the Hackney Youth established strong ties with the young soap actors/actresses positioned in the bottom of the strata living in a Turkish urban setting, because they themselves were also categorised as working-class adolescents, but in their case in contemporary London.

[106] *Aşk-ı Memnu* (Forbidden Love), adaptation of a novel written in 1900, focuses on an affair between the young wife of a rich older man and his handsome nephew living at the same mansion.
[107] *Pis Yedili,* literally meaning 'Seven Dirty People', is a derogatory nick name attributed to these seven youngsters to signify their association with the allegedly 'dirty' slums of Istanbul.

The interactional data below illustrates how the youngsters identified with the working-class characters in the soap.

Episode 9

Participants/setting: 16.10.2013. Didem (Kurdish descent, born in Turkey, 16, f), Zirav (Kurdish descent, London born, 16, f), Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent, London born, 16, f), Sema (Turkish descent, London born, 16, f), Gamze (Kurdish descent, London born, 16, f), Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, London born, 16, f) and Hilay (Turkish descent, London born, 16, f). It was 'taster day' at school, an opportunity for students to 'taste' the subjects that they might choose the following year for A levels. To skip more challenging subjects, such as maths or economics, the girls opted for the 'beauty' course located in the school canteen. After a few minutes of paying attention to how French manicure was applied, they settled themselves on the canteen chairs and tables and began talking about the most popular soap Pis Yedili (Dirty Seven).

1. Didem: Biz Pis Yediliyiz=
   <We're Dirty Seven>
2. Zirav: =Obviously
3. Hulya: Siz misiniz?
   <Are you?>
4. Aliye: Bak, 1,2,3,4,5,iki daha ver
   <Look, 1,2,3,4,5 give me 2 more>
5. ((inaudible overlapping comments))
6. Gamze: *Orço*[108] Zirav ((laughing out loud))
7. Zirav ((mocking Gamze's laughter)): Gamze beni kendinle karıştırıyosun
   <I guess you're confusing yourself with me>
8. Didem: Ben *Cimbom*[109]
   <I'm *Cimbom*>
9. Zirav ((with a very angry tone))*:* Sema*,* şuna bişey der misin?
   <Sema, can you tell her off?>
10. Ben *Karabiber*'im[110]. Bi dakka durar mısınız?
    <I am *Karabiber*, can you hold on a minute?>
11. I AM *Karabiber*, I AM *Karabiber*
    ((inaudible overlapping comments))
12. Didem: Gamze *Salça*[111]
13. Zirav: heyyy, wait
14. Sema: I think Gamze should be *Trafo*[112]
15. Zirav: No, man. *Trafo*'s, *Trafo* ben olayım, I don't mind.
    <I should be Trafo>
16. Shanley: *Trafo* benim aşkım
    <*Trafo* is my darling>

[108]The nick name *Orço* is made up with the combination of the first syllable of the character's first name *Orçun* and surname *Çolak*. He is a humorous and silly character occasionally making jokes with sexual content.

[109]*Cimbom*: As a female character who is a supporter of the Turkish football team *Galatasaray* and blonde (the team's flag is coloured in yellow and red), she is called *Cimbom*, a nickname used for the team.

[110]*Karabiber* (Black pepper): The nick name 'Karabiber' (black pepper) derives from the character's appearance as a brunette girl with a short temper. She is rebellious, aggressive, and cannot get on well with her parents. Her mother is a cleaner in the same private school, a secret that *Karabiber* forces her mother not to disclose to anyone in the school.

[111]*Salça* (Catch-up) is the gossipy girl of the group, revealing the secrets of others to spoil their relationship. She got her nickname *Salça* (catch-up) due to her always involving herself in other people's business.

[112]*Trafo* (Electricity transformer): Trafo is extremely short-tempered like a power line carrying electricity at high-voltages.

17. Zirav: He's so amazing. *Rüzgar*[113], I find *Rüzgar* really nice ((…))
18. Aliye: Ben *Arzu*'yum[114]
<I'm *Arzu*>
19. Zirav ((excited)): Bugün Pis Yedili var!
<Dirty Seven is tonight!>
20. Gamze: *Salça*, Shanley definitely
21. Zirav: Who?
22. Gamze: Sen kendine *Cimbom* diyon, Galatasaray'ı tutmuyon bile
<you call yourself '*Cimbom*' [but] do not even support Galatasaray>

This episode demonstrates that all the interlocutors, excluding the usually quiet informant Hilay, made explicit statements about the *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven) characters in the form of: i) direct identification with the characters, who are all from low socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Didem lines 1, 8; Zirav, lines 10, 15, 17), ii) allocation of the soap characters to other group members (e.g. Gamze line 6; Didem line 12; Sema line 14) as well as, iii) expression of admiration for some male characters (e.g. Shanley line 16; Zirav line 17). As the dialogue indicates, the Hackney Youth strongly identified themselves and their friends with the working-class soap characters. Beyond the actual similarities in terms of personal characteristics (Shanley, an interfering busybody and gossiper like *Salça*) and physical appearances (Zirav, the brunette and peppery girl of the group like *Karabiber*), all of these young women, like the characters in the soap, were classified as working-class adolescents in the London context. In the episode and in other cases when my research participants referred to *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven) and its characters, they abstained from signalling any sort of social link with the soap characters from the higher social class. This was probably due to the fact that the Hackney Youth shared a high degree of commonality in terms of social class experiences with the soap characters of low socio-economic status. In sum, the Hackney Youth preferred to watch, and expressed a strong attachment to, *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven) among tens of soap operas available to them on transnational Turkish television, which indicated their alignment with a contemporary urban working-class type of Turkishness. I now move on to another Turkish TV series on which Nuray, a young woman of Turkish descent, drew to enact a kind of Turkish ethnicity associated with Black Sea Turkishness.

7.1.2 Benim için üzülme (Do not feel sorry for me) and Black Sea Turkish ethnicities

A specific type of Black Sea Turkish ethnicity was signalled in *Benim için üzülme* (Do not feel sorry for me), which prominently featured in my data in relation to one particular participant, Nuray (Turkish descent, f). By intensely engaging with the soap, she signalled her affiliation with a type of Black sea Turkishness. *Benim için üzülme*

[113] *Rüzgar* (Wind) is a calm and wise male character of the soap.
[114] *Arzu Şahin* was Aliye's favourite singer (see 7.3.3 below).

(Do not feel sorry for me) focuses on the stormy love story between a young couple living in the Black Sea region in Turkey. Nuray, who has parental connections to the region, was so strongly attached to this TV drama that she visited the hotel where the cast stayed in summer 2013 with her friend's father, who is an acquaintance of some of the cast members. The following interview excerpt is Nuray's delineation of her visit to the hotel and admiration for the cast:

> Diziyi ilk bölümünden beri izliyorum (…) Oyuncuların kaldıkları otele gittik (…) Sinan'ı[115] çağırdılar 'gel bak burda Londra'dan gelenler var, merhaba de'. El tokuşturduk, geldi oturdu yanımıza, böyle bahıyoz. Böyle 'Oh My God, gerçekten bu mu?' Öyle şoklara girdik (…) Valla aynı, resmen oyuncak bebek gibi, öyle güzel ki. Döndü bize 'niye konuşmiysiniz?' (…) Londra falan nasıl soruyo (…) Böyle ne kadar şey ya, oyuncuları görmek, rüyadasın gibi.
>
> <I have been watching the soap since the very first episode (...) We went to the hotel where the cast stayed (...) They called Sinan 'come here, there are people from London, say hello to them'. We shook hands, and he sat next to us. We were just looking at him. We were like 'Oh My God, is that really him?' We were in utter shock (...) I swear he's just like a doll, so handsome. He turned to us 'why aren't you talking?'(...) He then asked what London was like (...) Seeing the cast, it is the thing, like you are in a dream>
>
> (Turkish descent, f, interview: 16.12.2013)

In this excerpt, Nuray expressed a strong attachment to the soap as well as the cast members by detailing her visit to the hotel where the cast stayed during her summer holiday in Turkey. She had a brief encounter with the *Sinan* character, who she depicted as a handsome young man with perfect facial features, like a 'doll'. Nuray's mixed emotions of delight, surprise and shyness to meet some of the soap characters that she looked forward to viewing on TV every week is evident in the final lines with her expressions of 'shock' and 'dream'. Besides this interview excerpt, I recorded and witnessed many occasions on which Nuray commented on the drama, summarised previous episodes to her friends and discussed the performance of the cast in her everyday speech.

Nuray's family had migrated to London from a small village called *Pekün* (see footnote 64) located in the Black Sea region, yet they retained their diasporic ties with the region by visiting there every year and by being active members of the 'London Pekünlüler Society', an organisation that aims to bring together migrants from *Pekün* village. In this diasporic family atmosphere, Nuray took pride in having connections with, what she described in an interview as, 'the most beautiful part of Turkey' (interview: 03.12.2013) and showed an immense interest in the cultural values of the

[115] *Sinan* is the younger brother of the main male character *Niyaz*i in the soap.

region such as folk dance (see 7.4 below). In this regard, the soap operated as a means of representing the cultural assets of the Black Sea shaped around a love story as well as a way of presenting them to a young Londoner who has ties with the region. For Nuray, the TV drama provided an avenue to indicate identification with a type of Turkish ethnicity that is tightly linked with Black Sea cultural assets.

As I mentioned above, the Hackney Youth (girls in particular) not only viewed soaps representing everyday social engagements in 21st century Turkey, but they also showed great interest in the historical period drama television series *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century), which featured the most prosperous and powerful era of the Ottoman Empire. Through their enthusiastic, but at the same time critical, engagement with the soap, the young people negotiated their rather ambiguous and complex ethnic positionings in relation to the Ottoman past of Turkey.

7.1.3 Muhteşem Yüzyıl (The Magnificent Century) – a contemporary depiction of Ottoman traditions

The historical soap opera *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century[116]) signalled the Hackney Youth's uncertain and shifting identification with a pre-modern version of Turkishness in a specific period of the Ottoman Empire. The drama is concerned with the contemporary portrayal of Ottoman traditions in the historical era of Suleiman the Magnificent, the most successful Ottoman Sultan (1520-1566). It delineates the intrigues between the Sultan's wives, and was followed by the Hackney Girls enthusiastically. *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century) reconstructs a 'fictional' traditional Ottoman past around the tensions among the women in the palace (Orta, 2013; Rousselin, 2013). For the Hackney Girls, the drama enhanced their interest in the historical events and traditional practices of this ancient era. As is shown below, rather than simply immersing themselves in the impressively aesthetic and rich depiction of the historical period, they embodied a critical ethnic perspective, questioning particular practices portrayed in the drama in accordance with their 21st century everyday experiences in London. The following interaction between two participant young women suggests that their perception of Ottoman traditions was highly influenced by the soap and drawn on to produce meanings in relation to contemporary Turkishness.

Episode 10

Participants: 27.11.2013. Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, 16, f), Gamze (Kurdish descent, 16, f). It was a photography lesson, the last lesson of the day. The girls were not in the mood to edit the photos they had taken several weeks ago. Shanley opened

[116] *Muhtesem Yuzyıl* (The Magnificent Century), broadcast in over 60 countries, became one of the most popular television series in Turkey, the Arab World and many other countries (Matthews, 2011).

the Wikipedia page, typed 'Ordu', a city in the Black Sea region of Turkey, where her father is from, on the search engine and read aloud the information provided on the website. After a short discussion about the given information with Gamze, Shanley then typed 'Pazarcık', a district of 'Kahramanmaraş', from which Gamze's father had migrated to London. Whilst Shanley was reading aloud the information, she suddenly stopped in the sentence commencing with 'the Ottoman Empire' and switched the topic to what she wanted to say about the Ottomans. The excerpt demonstrates that the girls' understanding of the Ottoman traditions mainly derived from the soap Muhteşem Yüzyıl (The Magnificent Century).

1. Shanley: You know Turkey never existed (1), like (1) before the Ottoman
2. Empire, it wasn't Turkey.
3. Gamze: Nasıl?
<How?>
4. Shanley: It wasn't Turkey
5. Gamze: The Ottoman Empire yeah (…) You know Ottoman Empire it wasn't
6. actually like (1), it was all mix of different people though,
7. Shanley: It was
8. Gamze: really different ethnic people
9. Shanley: Yeah, Mon=
10. Gamze: =You can even see 'Muhteşem Yüzyıl' like (2) o zaman, mesela
<The magnificent Century> <in that era, for example>
11. for example (1), you know Selim[117], his children, all the şehzades[118]
12. yeah, and all them things, like their dad's from, is their dad's Ottoman
13. but their mum's like =
14. Shanley: = Russian
15. Gamze: Yeah, or ne bileyim, Albanian ya da bir yerden geliyorlar,
<I don't know> <or coming from somewhere else>
16. they're not=
17. Shanley: =Yeah becoz there used to be thing
18. Gamze: So, [Turk I'm trying to say
19. Shanley: [They used to be slaves
20. Gamze: So, Turkish people are all like mix with you know ethnics actually
21. Shanley: (…) Turkey did not really exist for people to live until Ottoman
22. Empire coz Ottoman Empire was one of the biggest empires in the
23. world.
24. Gamze: Hmmm, especially Sultan Suleiman's times.
25. Shanley: Yeah

This interaction reveals that these girls' interpretation of the Ottoman Empire and the traditions followed in that era largely emanated from the soap. Their ambivalent way of talking about the ancient past of Turkey, in fact, signals their identification with particular aspects of traditional Turkishness. The conversation suggests that the soap led them to certain forms of knowledge about the Ottoman Empire, such as i) the ethnically diverse nature of the Ottoman era (lines 5-15), ii) traditions exercised in the

[117] *Selim* is a son of Suleiman the Magnificent and, of course, a character in the soap.
[118] *Şehzade* is a name given to Sultans' sons and grandsons.

palace (line 18) and iii) the claim that Sultan Suleiman's era was the most prosperous and powerful period of Ottoman history (line 24). The drama seems to have aroused the girls' interest in the Ottoman past of Turkey as well as shaped their understandings of the traditions carried out in that era. For example, Gamze made references to the soap with regard to the diverse ethnic composition of the palace, which she indicated demonstrated the multi-ethnic nature of Turkish ethnicity (line 20). The soap's representation of harmonious ethnic diversity during the Ottoman Empire is completely opposite to the homogenous imagination of Turkishness in 20th century Kemalism. Doğramacı (2014:2) argues that 'the series can be interpreted as a seminal weathervane of Turkish revisionism, challenging the identity of a unitary and secular Turkishness'. The portrayal of the multi-ethnic Ottoman past is in fact a break from the singular and uniform interpretation of Turkishness (ibid.). It seems to me that Gamze indicated her alignment with the ethnically diverse composition of the Ottoman era, because as an Alevi-Kurd she was positioned within one of the most marginalised ethnic and religious groups of Turkish society. With an emphasis on the representation of diverse ethnic groups in the text, Gamze implied identification with the multi-ethnic nature of Turkishness as opposed to its singular version that made illegitimate her distinctive ethnic and religious stance. Her reference to Turkey's multi-ethnic Ottoman past was to signal her alignment with a more open and flexible conceptualisation of Turkishness in relation to contemporary debates around the notion.

The Hackney Girls' engagements with this TV serial were not linear and passive, reduced to the admiration of the wealth and beauty depicted in Ottoman traditions. On the contrary, these girls adopted a critical approach, distancing themselves from those common Ottoman traditions that contradicted 21st century practices. Carney (2014:7) notes that 'those who enjoy [The Magnificent] *Century* also tend to be those who activate that text reflectively by, for example, questioning the Ottoman history'. As far as the Hackney Girls were concerned, they expressed criticism towards the absolute power of the Sultan, which he exercised over every subject under his rule, including his own family members. To exemplify this reflexive engagement with the Ottoman era with an incident, the day after the most controversial episode of the soap, in which the Sultan Suleiman ordered the death of his own son due to the suspicion/fear that he would take over the throne, was broadcast, all the Hackney Girls present in the canteen for their breakfast began talking about, what they called, those 'upsetting' scenes. The chatterbox of the group and a regular follower of the soap, Shanley, drew everyone's attention by asking 'did you watch *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* [The Magnificent Century] last night?' with enormous excitement in her tone of voice. All the girls had seen the whole or some part of the previous night's episode and stated how deeply

they were affected by the 'upsetting' scenes of this past tradition. They emphasised their shock to see a father ordering the death of his own son. With their strong reaction to this particular Ottoman practice, which allowed the Sultan to terminate his family members' lives, the Hackney Girls explicitly contested as well as disengaged themselves from this Ottoman tradition that conflicted with contemporary values. This demonstrates that the Hackney Girls constantly negotiated the social meanings given in the drama, rejecting identification with traditions, practices and customs that went against 21st century conventions.

The girls' active engagement with the soap was also evident with the presence of the imagined traditional costume and jewellery depicted in the soap in their course work. Nuray (Turkish descent, f) and Sema (Turkish descent, f) decided to produce a traditional Ottoman dress of a similar style to one portrayed in the soap for their textile project in school. The following pictures taken from the girls' notebook are exact copies of the dresses shown in the soap.

Figure 2: Some examples from a collage the girls assembled based on the costumes used by the actresses in *Muhteşem Yüzyıl* (The Magnificent Century)

As shown in figure 2, the girls assembled images from the drama by using the internet and made a collage for their textile project. These girls exhibited their symbolic attachment to a traditional aspect of the Ottoman era by integrating the dresses worn by the female characters with contemporary London school concerns in their textile project. It is, however, important to note that the 'traditional' style of clothing adopted in the soap does not project the fashion followed by women in the palace at that era. On the contrary, it represents an 'imagined' Ottoman female clothing style as the costume designer of the soap explains that 'we were never asked to create the classical Ottoman, [but rather] a stylish and modern Ottoman, one which pleases the eye' (Arna, 2013 cited in Tüzün and Sen, 2014:185). The following drawing from the late 16th

century gives us an idea of the fashion adopted by Ottoman women in the same historical era portrayed in the soap.

Figure 3: This image taken from a European album represents a group of women in the palace in late 16th century (see Jirousek, 2000:213)

The differences between the fashion style portrayed in the soap (see figure 2) and the one embodied by the women in that era (see figure 3) clearly show that the imagined Ottoman dresses adopted in the soap are more revealing, tighter and less colourful. The Ottoman style created in the drama seems to be inspired by the western fashion as indicated through the embodiment of a tiara, a long dress, a consistent colour throughout and it being décolleté[119]. My understanding is that the 'stylish, 'modern' as well as 'western' appearance of the Ottoman woman was the key factor in the popularity of the dresses shown in the drama. I do not think that the girls would have been so interested in the fashion dimension of the Ottoman era, if the clothes portrayed in the soap had been designed according to the original versions dominant in that era. This is because the 16th century Ottoman dressing style has no or little relevance to their understanding of fashion in 21st century North London. In short, their strong attachment to the fashion deployed in the soap signals that the girls aligned with not the 'traditional' and 'old-fashioned', but rather, an imagined 'stylish' and 'modern' version of the Ottoman era.

A close analysis of the youngsters' engagement with particular Turkish soap operas signified their affiliation with different versions of Turkishness with social-class, regional and ethnic inflections. This diverse nature of the transnational media from Turkey, as Karanfil (2009:888) maintains, offers the Hackney Youth 'a variety ways of being Turkish … [and] foster[s] the proliferation of new ways of describing and re-describing selves, others and surroundings among subjects of diaspora'. Although the central

[119]As you can see in figure 3, a tiara is not a part of the Ottoman fashion in the 16th century. There are several separate parts of woman clothing (shalwar, kaftan and so on), not a long dress of the same material; colourful materials are widely chosen; and the women are fully covered, except for their faces, hands and feet.

focus up to this point in the chapter has been on Turkish soap operas, this mode of Turkish transnational media was not the only TV genre to which the Hackney Youth referred. The youngsters also talked about particular Turkish films, which indexed ethnic meanings in relation to their interpretations of Turkishness/Kurdishness.

7.2 Turkish film and ethnicities

The links between film and the formation of ethnicities become salient when the Hackney Youth's engagement with this form of popular culture is closely investigated. In my collected data, the youngsters referred to Turkish films ranging from classic productions from as early as the 1970s to contemporary films. Some of the Turkish films that emerged in my data set were *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo)[120], *Evim Sensin*[121] (You are My Home), *Su ve Ateş*[122] (Water and Fire), *Hükümet Kadın*[123] (The Government Woman), *Hababam Sınıfı*[124] (The Chaos Class) and *Cöpçüler Kralı*[125] (King of Dustmen). The youngsters accessed most of these films on transnational Turkish television, but they also stated that they sometimes went to their local cinema to watch new releases[126]. I particularly focus on two of the Turkish films to which the adolescents referred:

(a) *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo), which offers a working-class peasant version of Kurdishness.
(b) *Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman), which covers Kurdish ethnic identification within Turkey.

I begin with the classic film *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo) which strongly portrays a rural working-class type of Turkishness/Kurdishness.

7.2.1 Kibar Feyzo (Gentle Feyzo) and working-class alignments in Kurdish regions

The film, which was shot in the late 1970s, is a satirical comedy portraying the impact of the *Agha* (landlord) order in southeast Turkey and its similarity to capitalism in certain ways. Kemal Sunal, one of the most popular actors of the era, who mainly articulated social inequality and difference in a subtle political and entertaining manner in his films, acted the leading role, the villager *Feyzo*. Some of my participants strongly

[120]*Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo) is a comedy film describing the feudal system in a rural context in southeast Turkey.
[121]*Evim Sensin* (You are My Home) is a 2012 romantic film inspired by the South Korean film called 'A moment to remember'.
[122]*Su ve Ateş* (Water and Fire) is a 2013 film portraying a love story between two people who randomly meet on a plane.
[123]*Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman), released in 2013, describes how a woman mayor of a district in southeast Turkey – who takes the position after the death of her husband – carries out the dream of her husband, i.e. bringing fresh water to the district from the closest city in the 1950s.
[124]*Hababam Sınıfı* (The Chaos Class), a 1975 comedy film adapted from the Turkish novel written with the same name, is concerned with a group of mischievous and lazy secondary school students' adventures.
[125]*Çöpçüler Kralı* (King of the Dustmen), a 1977 comedy film, delineates stories of a dustman who is in love with a domestic cleaner. The film also focuses on the social class issues of the era.
[126]Some of the participants noted that they went to their local cinema in North London to view *Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman) and *Evim Sensin* (You are My Home).

emphasised that they liked to watch Kemal Sunal's films on transnational television, including *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo). When I heard their enthusiastic comments about the actor and his films, I was rather surprised and failed to understand the reason why these young people of Turkish/Kurdish descent, who were born and brought up in London, would be interested in watching Turkish films produced more than four decades ago in a country that they visited just once a year. However, it later became clear to me that the central themes in these films, such as migration (to Europe as well as from rural areas to industrial metropolises in Turkey), class conflict, social inequality and problems of the millions living in the slums of urban centres (Sengul, 2012; Türker, 2006), which also reflected some of their past and present experiences in contemporary North London, seemed to have played an important role in their attachment to these films. The following dialogue in which Baran took on the voice of the peasant *Feyzo* character while performing a well-known scene in *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo) during a Turkish lesson hints at his identification with the rural working-class type of Kurdishness in the Kurdish region portrayed in the film.

Episode 11

Setting/Participants: 05.12.2013. Miss Sari (Turkish teacher, born in Turkey, 37, f), Gencay (Turkish descent born in Turkey and raised in London, 16, m), Baran (Kurdish descent born in London 16, m). The class was in a Turkish lesson, the final period of the day. Miss Sari was teaching the presentation of news in the written press in terms of its sentence structure, appearance, target reader and so on for the next written task. She then gave the example of the Metro newspaper handed out for 'free' in the mornings in London tube stations. The teacher's use of the word 'ücretsiz' meaning 'free' in Standard Turkish with reference to the Metro reminded Baran of a scene from the film Kibar Feyzo (Gentle Feyzo) in which the character Feyzo used the term 'beleş' meaning 'free' in non-standard, street Turkish.

1. Miss Sari: Mesela, ne var, çocuklar metro'da ne hangi gazete satılıyor?
   <For example, what, on the tube, which newspaper is sold?>
2. Gencay: Her sabahları oluyor
   <It is available every morning>
3. Baran: Metro
4. Miss Sari: Satılıyor diyorum, veriliyor ücretsiz
   <I mean, it's given for free, not sold>
5. Baran ((non-standard speech)) 'Beleş. Ağaya[127] beleş'
   <Free, it's free to the Agha>

   ((Students laughing at the back))

In the episode above, the standard Turkish word *ücretsiz* (free) used by the teacher reminded Baran of a scene in the film *Kibar Feyzo* (Gentle Feyzo), and he

[127] *Agha* (ağa in Turkish) is a title given to wealthy landlords owning large amounts of land or even complete villages, particularly in eastern/south-eastern Turkey. He is also the leader and sole decision maker of his tribe. See the link for this scene of the film https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gxvr9g1or9E (accessed on 14.02.2016).

recontextualised the standard word *ücretsiz* (free) with its rather 'peasant' and 'low-class' version ***beleş*** through the strategic voice of the Feyzo character. In order to convey the fullness of the meaning in Baran's use of the word ***beleş***, it is important to understand its placement in the film that he was citing. In the film, the lead character *Feyzo* is a victim of the feudal system in south-eastern Turkey. *Feyzo* has been expelled from his village and has migrated to an urban area where he encounters socialist movements through the protest slogans written on the walls. He is amazed to discover that in this urban area he is charged for using the public toilet. When he returns to his village he builds a toilet in the village centre and demands payments from other peasants to use the service. Later, the *agha* (feudal master) of the area finds out about this unauthorised business and gets mad at Feyzo. In order to please him, *Feyzo* writes 'AGAYA BeLEȻ[128]' (Free to the agha) on the wooden toilet door. His informal and non-standard choice ***beleş*** instead of its standard form *ücretsiz*, his misspelling of the letter 'G' (AĞAYA) and 'Ş' (BELEŞ) with a symbol 'Ȼ' which does not exist in the Turkish alphabet, and his violation of uppercase and lowercase coherence indexes his lack of education and working-class background. The way in which Baran strategically embodied the peasant voice of *Feyzo* against the urban, middle-class position of the teacher subtly indicates his as well as his friends' connections to rural areas in southeast Turkey[129], where most people come from low socio-economic backgrounds, working in the fields, such as cotton fields, for landowners or engaging in cattle breeding. As a result, Standard Turkish hardly represents the everyday talk of these youngsters (see Chapters 5 and 6 for their daily speech). Here, Baran's strategic use of *Feyzo's* voice signals his identification with a rural working-class type of Kurdishness in the Kurdish region even though he is living in London. Another Turkish film that was used to create ethnic meanings in relation to Kurdishness is *Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman).

7.2.2 Hükümet Kadın (The Government Woman) and the question of Kurdish ethnicity

Hükümet Kadın (The Government Woman), the most popular contemporary Turkish film among the Hackney Youth, depicts the humorous and sometimes tragic adventures of an ambitious Kurdish female mayor in *Midyat*, a town in south-east Turkey, in the 1950s. This district is one of the most multicultural places in Turkey, where Kurds, Armenians, Yazidis, Turks and Arabs live together in peace. Besides the film's captivating plot and entertaining nature, it tacitly signifies the Turkish state's neglect of the area in the early years of the republic with a particular emphasis on the

[128]The standard written version of Feyzo's writing *AGAYA BeLEȻ* is *AĞAYA BELEŞ* (free to the the agha), although the word *beleş* is not classified as a prestigious or standard expression.
[129]Most of the Hackney Youth said to me that they normally spent part or all of their summer holidays in their parents' villages in Turkey; they also sometimes talked about their experiences in these rural areas in their everyday engagements.

ethnic and linguistic aspects of the Kurdish question. *Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman) was relatively popular among the Hackney Youth, most of whom had some sort of connection with the south-eastern/eastern regions of Turkey. My contention is that through their explicit attachment to the film, in which everyday life in south-east Turkey with its distinctive culture is aptly depicted, the Hackney Youth of Kurdish descent seemed to have signalled their identification with Kurdish ethnicity as well as the region. The following excerpts exemplify some of the ways in which the Hackney Youth referred to the film.

Gamze: Did you watch *Hükümet Kadın* movie, man? That'd be funny.

(Kurdish descent, f, recording, 28.11.2013)

Baran: Do you know how funny *Hükümet Kadın* is?

(Kurdish descent, m, recording, 15.11.2013)

Aliye ((voicing the Kurdish female mayor character)): Midyat'ı ilçe yapıcam.
<I'll make Midyat a district>

(Kurdish descent, f, recording, 27.11.2013)

This movie, which juxtaposes political elements with humour, opens up a broader space to reflect upon the deep-rooted Kurdish question by adopting an entertaining approach to its effects on ordinary people. The ordinariness blended with humour whilst dealing with a social issue that is related to the youngsters of Kurdish descent is probably the reason for its popularity at my research site. Karanfil points out that popular Turkish films produced after the 1980s,

> function in formulating, reproducing, contesting, disordering and undoing the [uniform] notions of Turkish-ness, Turkish nationalism and Turkish national identity adopted and imposed on Turkish society by the Kemalist regime.
>
> (Karanfil, 2006:72-73)

Deconstructing the singular conceptualisation of Turkishness by portraying the harmonious multi-ethnic formation of Turkey, as well as by questioning the newly established Turkish state's overlooking of the Kurdish question in a rather witty manner, *Hükümet Kadın* (The Government Woman) provided a space for the youngsters of Kurdish descent to signal their identification with Kurdish ethnicity. To put it in other words, the film was used as a means through which identification with Kurdishness was tacitly indicated.

Turkish films constituted one aspect of popular cultural practices that alluded the youngsters' affiliations with different types Kurdishness as they went about their mundane lives. Their engagement with classic as well as contemporary Turkish films depicting ordinary life in south-east Turkey with emphasis on particular social issues

denoted their connections to Kurdish ethnicities. Music constituted another important form of popular culture that the adolescents invested their time and energy in, the type of which also hinted at their attachment to various versions of Turkishness/Kurdishness.

7.3 Turkish music and the Hackney Youth

Another insightful way of understanding the relationship between popular culture and ethnicities is to look into musical engagements. Music pervaded the everyday lives of the Hackney Youth as their most dominant popular cultural involvement. In my dataset, there were 248 occasions on which the youngsters referred to, performed and murmured a wide range of Turkish (sporadically Kurdish) songs[130] as well as played mainly their recordings of the folk musical instrument the *saz/baglama* (see 7.3.3 below) in their social encounters. Their vast repertoires, including traditional and contemporary Turkish rock, pop and folk music, were very impressive[131]. The youngsters (the girls in particular) were so attached to the music produced in Turkey that they would spend the whole or some part of their lunch breaks singing or listening to Turkish (sometimes Kurdish) music from their smart phones, perform Turkish and Kurdish songs during cultural events organised at school and talk about particular singers and their songs. I paid attention to the following components of music that emerged as being important in my data.

(a) Turkish/Kurdish songs performed in cultural events, which signal the Hackney Girls' ethnic attachments.
(b) Ahmet Kaya, a Kurdish singer who stressed social inequality in his songs, indicates identification with working-class Kurdish ethnicities.
(c) The saz/baglama, the traditional folk musical instrument, which signals attachment to a traditional kind of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicity.

The subtle and sophisticated ethnic meanings that these musical references carry assisted me in developing an understanding of the ways in which Turkishness/Kurdishness is performed, lived and signalled in contemporary North London. I first demonstrate how the Hackney Girls indicated their ethnic identifications through the songs they chose to perform for cultural celebrations held at school.

[130]While I was coding the data related to music, I counted the occasions on which a musical activity occurred, not the number of songs that appeared in one episode. For instance, there were incidents in which the girls constantly sang a number of Turkish songs about 10 minutes jumping from one song to another, but it was recorded as one event.
[131]It was surprising for me to witness the Hackney Youth singing and referring to some old and contemporary songs that I had never heard before.

7.3.1 Turkish and Kurdish songs and ethnicities

I noticed a salient pattern in the songs the Hackney Girls performed during cultural events that took place in the school. The young women of Kurdish descent chose Kurdish and Turkish songs, which reflect the linguistic and music culture of south-east/east Turkey, while the young women of Turkish descent with ties to the Black Sea, preferred songs that represent the linguistic and musical elements of that region. This tendency in staged musical performances shows one way in which music emanating from Turkey indicates the youngsters' affiliation with different types of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities.

As I mentioned earlier, two cultural events that aimed to celebrate multiculturalism in school were held during my data collection period. The first, 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week' (see footnote 39), held in May 2013, was specifically for students and parents with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. The second, 'International Evening', on the other hand, included all the ethnic minority groups in the school. During both of the cultural festivals, the Hackney Girls exhibited their musical talents to the audience by singing Turkish and Kurdish contemporary folk songs, some of which were performed with the accompaniment of the traditional musical instrument, the *baglama* (see 7.3.3 below). The most striking feature of these performances was that the songs chosen strongly hinted at the ethnic affiliations of the girls. For example, Sema and Nuray (the young girls of Turkish descent with family ties to the Black Sea) performed the songs called *Nayino* (meaning 'My love' in Greek)[132] and *Sen Yarim Idun* (You were My Darling)[133], songs that reflect the music culture of the Black Sea through the embodiment of a linguistic variety and the musical instruments strongly associated with the region. Similarly, Zirav (a young woman of Kurdish descent) performed a Kurdish song and a Turkish song called *Saçımın Akına Bakma* (Ignore my grey hair)[134], both of which typically project the folk music culture and linguistic elements of eastern/south-eastern Turkey (Kurdish areas). The musical choices of the girls in these staged performances strongly indicated their attachment to particular types of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities.

It is important to note that although the Hackney Girls (as well as Boys) strongly engaged with the music deriving from Turkey in the form of different genres, such as pop, rock, folk and arabesque (see 7.3.2 below), the music types, the singers and the instruments to which they were particularly attached signalled something about their

[132]The song is given the Greek title *Nayino* (My love) just to emphasise the cultural richness of the Black Sea, which the Greek community constituted a major part of, before the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. There are still some people who use Greek in remote areas in north-eastern Turkish Black Sea areas. See the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=REG07a7p7h4 for the song (accessed on 25.03.2016).
[133]See the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UVpFFgM_wY0 for the song (accessed on 15.02.2016).
[134]See the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NisM17SxtaE for the song (accessed on 10.03.2016).

ethnic affiliations. There was a tendency for the adolescents of Turkish descent with ties to the Black Sea region showing an interest in the folk music of this region, and, in the same vein, the youngsters of Kurdish descent were oriented towards Kurdish singers who adopted the linguistic, cultural and musical influences of eastern/south-eastern Turkey in their music. This musical orientation of the youngsters signalled their affiliation with particular versions of Turkishness and Kurdishness. To exemplify this point in more detail, I focus on the Kurdish singer *Ahmet Kaya* who voiced economic and social inequalities in Turkey with his songs. The youngsters' engagement with the singer and his songs signified their identification with working-class Kurdish ethnicities.

7.3.2 Ahmet Kaya, Kurdishness and social class

Ahmet Kaya was a '*devrimci arabesk*[135]' (revolutionary arabesque) musician, who performed mainly in Turkish and sometimes in Kurdish. Born to a Kurdish father from a working-class background, factory worker, *Ahmet Kaya* had to give up his educational life and contribute to the family budget at a young age after their migration to the 'dreamland' of Istanbul from the east of Turkey. His alignment with the leftist movement in the 1970s ended up with his imprisonment at the age of 16 and torture due to the then political tension in the country (Karahakanoglu and Skoog, 2009). His experiences of poverty and torment formed the basis of his songs, which addressed to the voiceless and suppressed mass living in the slums of big cities in the 1980s. Following the escalation of the tension between the Turkish state and the PKK, which resulted in mass migration from south-eastern/eastern regions (Kurdish areas) to metropolitan areas, *Ahmet Kaya* touched upon the social tragedy of these people in his songs in the 1990s[136] (Yarar, 2008). At a music awards ceremony in 1999, he spoke out about his Kurdish origin and future plans of adding a Kurdish song to his next album for the first time. Upon his statements, most of the attendees, celebrities in the Turkish music and film industry, forced him to leave the hall. After this incident, he had to abandon the country as a result of the prosecution cases opened against him that he was making propaganda for the PKK and lost his life due to a heart attack at the age of 43 in exile in 2000 in Paris.

Arabesque music is associated with the peripheralised working-class living in the slums of large cities (see Karahakanoglu and Skoog, 2009; Stokes, 1992a, b; Yarar, 2008). It is also considered as being a reaction of the marginalised groups, who have been excluded from participating in the social and cultural activities of the dominant class. *Ahmet Kaya* was one of the most famous representatives of this music genre. In

[135]'Devrimci Arabesk' (Revolutionary Arabesque) is a music style created by Ahmet Kaya. He is the pioneer of this new music movement bringing up the social issues silenced in the post 1980 era (see footnote 9 for the 1980 coup).
[136]See the link for a documentary about Ahmet Kaya's life https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGhZZtPKTg4 (accessed on 14.03.2016).

the following examples, I present how some of the Hackney Youth referred to the singer and performed his songs, social acts that I have interpreted as being their affiliation with working-class Kurdish ethnicities.

Episode 12

Participants/Setting: 18.10.2013. Baran (Kurdish descent born in London, 16, m), Hulya (the researcher, Turkish, born in Turkey, 28, f). The class was in a construction lesson at the construction workshop. Baran was busy painting the window at his own booth, whilst listening to Turkish songs using the speaker function on his smart phone. Among these songs, he listened to many songs of Ahmet Kaya successively for more than 20 minutes as well as sang along with the singer giving the singing his full attention. His cousin Hakan (Kurdish descent, m) was also painting his door at a nearby booth, while listening to Ahmet Kaya's songs[137]*. At one moment, I could not contain my curiosity and interrupted the natural flow of the song and started talking with Baran about the songs he liked to listen to.*

1. Hulya: Ahmet Kaya'yı çok mu dinliyorsun?
   <Do you often listen to Ahmet Kaya?>
2. Baran: Yeah, I have got SO MANY songs of him,
3. Hulya: Really?
4. Baran: Yeah. ((showing me his music playlist)) Bak. there is this, there
   <look>
5. is another after this.
6. Hulya: Who's your favourite singer?
7. Baran: Who is my favourite singer?
8. Hulya: Yeah.
9. Baran: Turkish, probably Ahmet Kaya.

In expressing a strong attachment to *Ahmet Kaya* in this naturally occurring interaction, Baran signalled his alignment with working-class Kurdish ethnic positioning in contemporary London. Besides there being a strong emphasis on social class issues in his songs, *Ahmet Kaya* also touched upon the socio-economic (as well as ethnic) aspect of the Kurdish question prevailing in the political arena of the 1990s. In this politically tense era, in which Kurdish citizens were either completely ignored or associated with the Marxist armed organisation the *PKK* (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê-Kurdistan Workers Party), *Ahmet Kaya* tacitly indexed his class approach to Kurdish ethnicity through his songs. The significance of *Ahmet Kaya* for my research is that a young man of Kurdish descent in a London secondary school context chose to listen to his songs, many of which implicitly raised the question of social class and Kurdishness. Through his musical preference for *Ahmet Kaya*, a renowned Kurdish singer who voiced the social class problems of millions of working-class people in Turkey, Baran

[137]Although Hakan was not directly involved in this dialogue, it seemed to me that he also enjoyed listening to *Ahmet Kaya*. This conclusion was drawn from my observations that Hakan would let Baran know if he did not enjoy the songs that Baran was playing from his mobile phone. When *Ahmet Kaya*'s songs were being played, Hakan listened to them without making a negative comment.

signified his connection to the Kurdishness with working-class inflections highlighted in *Ahmet Kaya*'s songs.

Ahmet Kaya had enormous popularity among the young women of Kurdish descent as well. At lunch breaks when the Hackney Girls got together in front of the nearby kebab shop from which they bought their lunch, they usually spent the rest of their break listening to Turkish (sometimes Kurdish) songs from their smart phones as well as singing individually or in groups. At these gatherings, *Ahmet Kaya*'s songs were also in high demand, and the girls would ask their friend Aliye to perform some of them. Aliye, a young woman of Kurdish-Turkish descent with a beautiful voice and a vast song repertoire in Turkish folk music, would eagerly fulfil the request since she was a big fan of *Ahmet Kaya* herself, as she articulated in an interview conducted at a nearby cafe.

1. Hulya: Pop dinlemez misin?
   <Don't you listen to pop [music]?>
2. Aliye: (...) Yani bi tek Özcan Deniz, Sezen Aksu. Diğerleri sahte. Serdar
3. Ortaç'tan nefret ederim[138].
   <Only Özcan Deniz and Sezen Aksu. The others are fake, I hate Serdar Ortaç>
4. Hulya: Niye?
   <why?>
5. Aliye: Hiç sevmiyorum, sesini sevmiyorum, kendisini sevmiyorum (…)
6. Ahmet Kaya'yı <u>çok</u> severim.
   <I don't like him at all, I don't like his voice, I don't like him … [but] I love Ahmet Kaya very much>

(Interview: 15.10.2013)

In this interview, while Aliye highlighted a strong affinity for *Ahmet Kaya* (line 6), she completely detached herself from the pop singer *Serdar Ortaç* (lines 3, 5). What is striking in Aliye's statement is that among so many pop singers in Turkey she drew a strict boundary with *Serdar Ortaç*, whilst expressing an affiliation with *Ahmet Kaya*. The reason why she disliked *Serdar Ortaç*, as she explained in another interview, was concerned with the singer's major role in provoking the crowd against *Ahmet Kaya* at the abovementioned awards ceremony following his announcement of his future plans to add a Kurdish song to his next album. Aliye distanced herself *from Serdar Ortaç* due to the unfair treatment *Ahmet Kaya* had to endure at the awards ceremony and his exile life which brought his death afterwards. Through her explicit alignment with *Ahmet Kaya* as well as her musical preferences for the works of this singer in her daily practices, I think, Aliye implicitly denoted her working-class approach to Kurdish ethnicity in this contemporary North London setting. As I mentioned above, the

[138]Özcan Deniz, Sezen Aksu and Serdar Ortaç are famous singers in Turkey.

Hackney Youth engaged with the music culture of Turkey by not only listening to and singing Turkish and Kurdish songs, but also by playing a traditional instrument, the *baglama/saz*. I demonstrate how the Hackney Youth engaged with this folk instrument, which signalled alignment with a traditional kind of Turkishness/Kurdishness.

7.3.3 The *baglama/saz* as a symbol of folk tradition

A type of traditional Turkish/Kurdish ethnicity is implied in saz/*baglama,* which is highly associated with the traditional music culture of Turkey. The *baglama* is a type of string musical instrument classified within a family of plucked stringed folk musical instruments called the *saz*[139]. Four young people of Kurdish descent, Aliye, Zirav, Baran and Ozan could play the *baglama* well, whereas two others, Didem and Gamze, had failed in their attempts to learn how to play it. During the cultural events organised at school, some of the Hackney Girls sang Turkish/Kurdish folk songs, while one of the above informants was playing the *baglama*. During the 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week' at the school, a series of cultural activities held in May 2013 to bring together these communities around the cultural aspects of food, music, dance and so on, Zirav (Kurdish descent) sang a Kurdish song accompanied by Aliye's (Kurdish-Turkish descent) *baglama* performance, as shown in the photo below.

Figure 4: A photo from Zirav and Aliye's musical performance during the 'Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish achievement week'

Aliye's *baglama* performance in this school-organised cultural event demonstrates her talent and confidence in playing this folk musical instrument. In an interview, Aliye explained in detailed how she developed an interest in this instrument following her strong attachment to the Alevi-Kurdish folk music singer *Arzu Şahin.* I noticed that she would constantly listen to *Arzu Şahin*'s songs through the headphones attached to her smart phone during lessons and break times, play her songs with the *baglama* during cultural events at school and she closely followed her on social media. Aliye was so affiliated with the singer and had so much to tell about her that she spent the majority

[139]The *saz* and the *baglama* were interchangeably used in the research field despite the fact that the *baglama* is categorised under the general name given to all string instruments called the *saz*.

of an interview describing the singer's life story and her encounter with the singer at one of her concerts in London. It seemed to me that the singer's performance of Turkish/Kurdish folk music with the folk musical instrument, namely, the *baglama* as well as her ethno-religious background (Alevi-Kurdish) had a major impact on Aliye's affinity for the singer.

The *saz/baglama* does not have a singular and static social connotation. Rather, it carries floating and numerous meanings in relation to nation-state, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. Besides its perennial importance for the Alevi philosophy as well as its role as the national instrument of Turkey, the saz/*baglama* is an indispensable component not only of the Turkish folk music, but also the Kurdish music tradition. To expand on this, the *saz/baglama* became a representative of the folk music culture of Turkey following the foundation of the Turkish state. In the process of the creation of a 'national' Turkish music tradition the *saz/baglama* began to represent the Turkish (as well as Kurdish) folk music culture (Stoke, 1992b). In addition, the instrument is ascribed religious connotations in the Alevi belief system (see footnote 2). Called 'the stringed Qur'an', it acts as a 'holy' means through which religious messages are delivered in Alevi religious ceremonies. This 'sacred' instrument is hung upon a wall above head level and kissed three times before being played according to the Alevi philosophy (Zelyut, 2002), the same signs of respect Sunni Muslims show for the holy book the Qur'an. Based on these rather fluid and shifting symbolic meanings attached to this instrument, my interpretation is that the saz/*baglama* was prominent among the Hackney Youth, because it represented the music tradition of Turkish and Kurdish cultures, as well as the Alevi belief to which some of my research participants were affiliated. In the interactional data below, I demonstrate how Baran proudly played a recording of one of his *bağlama* performances from his smart phone, whilst trying to convince his cousin Hakan to attend the lesson for the instrument that Baran would be taking at the weekend.

Episode 13

Participant/Setting: 08.11.2013. Baran (London born Kurdish descent, 16, m), Hakan (London born Kurdish descent, 16, m), Musa (Indian-Irish descent, 16, m), Genc[ay] (Turkish descent, born in Turkey raised in London, 16, m). The class was in a construction lesson. There was only 10 minutes left for the last lesson of the week to end. Mr. Knight allowed the students to spend these final minutes talking to each other as long as they kept the noise to a minimum. Baran and Hakan were making plans for the weekend and the others around them, whilst Gencay and Musa seemed to be listening to the conversation without much adding to it.

1. Baran: Cous ((short for cousin)) tomorrow me and Ali are going saz
2. Hakan: I'm not going
3. Baran ((insistent)): Hakan, <u>Come with us.</u> Just see and watch. Once you see

4. yeah if you watch me coz I'm learning now the tunes yeah, you'll see
5. it's fun. ((Musa is saying 'come' at the back))
6. Baran: Have you heard me playing?
7. Hakan: Yeah, when I was at your house
8. Baran ((excited)): Let me show the one I learnt, yeah, the other day, I played
9. at like yesterday. Genc[ay] hadi ((Turkish)), Genc[ay] tell him how
<come on>
10. sick it was
11. Musa : Len ((Turkish)), I was there as well.
<man>
((Some other people from the background are making the *bağlama* sound))
12. Baran ((proudly)): What would you say yeah if I was to say this's me playing?
13. ((trying to turn up the volume)) Where's the voice now?
((Baran is playing his *bağlama* recording))

This interaction exemplifies Baran's alignment with a traditional type of Turkishness/Kurdishness reinforced through his pride in being able to play the *bağlama* well (lines 9, 10, 12). He seemed enormously eager to demonstrate how competently he played the musical instrument and expected some complimentary words from his friend Gencay, but to no avail (lines 9, 10). At this moment, some other students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, who had already listened to his recordings many times before, began making a *bağlama* sound with their mouths. This is because Baran would frequently play his own recordings in construction lessons, and even in one incident, Rick, a young man of Caribbean descent, asked him to play a specific one. In fact, he would never miss a chance to exhibit his musical talent in playing the *baglama*. In one of his interviews with me, he manifested his dexterity with, and knowledge about, this instrument through his use of rather complex musical terminologies and by playing many recordings of himself in the expectancy of hearing praise from me. My interpretation is that through his intense participation in the *baglama,* which is the representative of the folk music of Turkey, Baran was signalling his connection to a traditional kind of Kurdish ethnicity.

This most pervasive form of popular culture, namely music, in particular musical influences from Turkey, assisted me in construing the sophisticated ways in which the Hackney Youth signalled affiliations with different types of Turkishness and Kurdishness in contemporary North London. By embodying and reworking the social meanings of particular Turkish/Kurdish songs and singers, as well as the folk musical instrument, the *baglama*, these youngsters manifested the nuanced and multi-faceted nature of their ethnicities. Turkish and Kurdish folk dance was another element of popular culture that indicated the girls' connections to traditional types of London-inflected Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities.

7.4 Folk dances: traditional Turkishness/Kurdishness with London inflections

Although the word 'folk' here might evoke the representation of a rural and traditional sort of folk dance emanating from Turkey, the girls embraced a hybrid and London-based form of folk phenomenon. In my collected data, two kinds of folk dances, the *horon*[140] and *halay*[141]*,* were prominent. The *horon* pertains to a variety of circle folk dances from the Black Sea region of Turkey, involving rapid shoulder and upper body movements. The *halay*, on the other hand, is performed in a circle or line with dancers clinging to each other with their little fingers touching or hand to hand and the lead dancer waving a piece of colourful cloth, which is the folk dance of eastern, south-eastern and central Anatolia. These two types of folk dances were performed on approximately 60 occasions in my data set. At the most unexpected moments, such as amidst a PE lesson, when other girls were practising modern dances, in a textile lesson at the back of the workshop, as well as in front of the school gates during lunch breaks, the Hackney Girls would turn on the *halay* or *horon* music from their smart phones and display their body movements in the rhythm of the music. They were so prepared for these moments that they would keep a small speaker that could be attached to their smart phones and a small colourful piece of cloth (called the *mendil*) that the head of *halay*, the first person in the line, holds whilst performing the dance. For some of the Hackney Girls, their personal interest in these regional folk dances went beyond their use as a mundane tool of entertainment performed at weddings or in the school with other community members. They also attended professional folk dance classes given in community centres.

Dance is a bodily expression of self, unlike all the verbal acts of self-articulation described so far. It allows us to grasp the complicated negotiations between bodily movements and cultural representations; in other words the 'multiple layers of cultural meanings in the dancing body' (Albright, 1997:5). Folk dance, thus, can be viewed as a 'bodily discourse' through which social identifications are shaped, reformed and negotiated (Desmond, 1997). The Hackney Girls embodied folk dances emanating from Turkey in a dynamic way, which indicated their affiliation with hybrid London-inflected Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities. On the 'International Evening', a cultural event organised to celebrate multiculturalism in the school, four young women of Turkish/Kurdish descent (two Turkish, one Kurdish and one Turkish-Irish descent) organised a folk dance performance, which featured both *horon* and *halay.* In this dance show, the girls successfully juxtaposed cultural elements with modern touches, in particular in their choice of costume. The following picture visualises their blending of

[140]See the link for *horon* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ZCsYWRu4bI (accessed on 09.12.2015).
[141]See the link for *halay* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLBoP_EX85U (accessed on 09.12.2015).

various cultural forms with the north London-influenced interpretations of Turkishness/Kurdishness.

Figure 5: This photo represents the girls' rather hybrid folk dance costume in the 'International Evening' festival.

In Figure 5, Zirav (Kurdish descent), Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent), Nuray (Turkish descent) and Sema (Turkish descent) are displaying a Kurdish *halay* performance in the school garden. The way in which these girls converged the elements of folk tradition into contemporary configurations of North London Turkishness/Kurdishness is aptly shown in the photo. The combination of white and red (the colours of the Turkish flag) as well as the necklace in the shape of the Turkish flag indicates the girls' connection to Turkey as a state. The pieces of cloth wrapped around their waists represent the traditional folk dance costume of the Black Sea region of Turkey, with which three of the girls in the photo have family links (Shanley, Nuray and Sema). Colourful pieces of cloth made from glitter fabric they hold in their hands, called *mendil*[142], are often used in *halay* performances. Their choice of jeans and canvas trainers, clothing items which are highly associated with global youth culture, marks their identification with youth fashion trends popular in their North London context. Consequently, these girls' costume selection denotes that 'traditional' does not mean traditional or conservative in every sense for them. Their total dance performance was rather transformed into a hybrid form, one which symbolically expressed their identification with traditional aspects. All of these semiotics harmoniously juxtaposed with their understandings of the folk dance tradition of Turkey signify the nuanced ways in which these young women enacted the nonverbal art form of dance in indexing their connection to a hybrid urban North London version of Turkishness/Kurdishness. In

[142]The *mendil* is a piece of cloth often held by the head of the *halay,* first person in the line. However, these girls added their own interpretation to the use of the *mendil* in the *halay* and all held one in their hands.

addition to the staged exemplification of a folk dance performance by the Hackney Girls, I will present an incident in which traditional dance movements spontaneously emerged during a break time.

Episode 14

Participants/Setting: 01.10.2013. Zirav (Kurdish descent, born in London, 16, f), Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent, born in London, 16, f), Didem (Kurdish descent, born in Turkey raised in London, 16, f). It was a lunch break. I was welcomed to join the girls' group whilst they were roaming around the school. All of the girls grabbed their lunch from the kebab shop, bought snacks from a nearby shop and gathered at their usual meeting point. Zirav turned on a fast halay music tune from her smart phone and began ululating, and the girls around her joined the flow clapping their hands, snapping their fingers as well as performing the Kurdish folk dance, a halay, in a line.

1. Aliye: I'm feeling mood for halay at the moment
2. Zirav: Elini ver (5) Last day, you know what would I do?
   <Give me your hand>
3. Okulda kalkıp Halay yapacam, watch {…}
4. <I'll perform Halay at school>
5. Aliye: {…} Davul, zurna, guys you are too fast
   <Drum, horn>
6. Zirav: Halay modundayım valla, I won't be able to calm down.
   <I'm in the mood for halay, swear>
7. Aliye: Hadi! ((halay music)) nerdesin lan? ((laughing/performing the dance))
   <come on> <where are you, man?>
8. Didem: Mendil normalde ben de oluyor ama bugün yok (…)
   <I usually have the mendil, but not today>
9. Zirav: ((Ululating and performing *halay* with Aliye))
10. Zirav and Aliye ((singing a famous Kurdish *halay* song and performing *halay*. Three more *halay* songs were played from the smart phone and the girls danced simultaneously))

The traditional *halay* performance, carried out with a *halay* music accompaniment composed by the melody of drum and horn, illustrates one way in which folk dance signals the girls' affiliation with Kurdish ethnicity. A *halay* with other semiotics in this context functions as a bodily enactment of ethnic (Kurdish) and gender (female) identification. Ululation, for example, drawn on to express feelings of deep sorrow or joy, is performed by female dancers only during a *halay* (Dönmez, 2013). The young women of Kurdish descent voiced this form of expression in exhibiting their gendered Kurdish ethnicities. The somatic expressions, the ululation, the *halay* song as well as the *mendil* (see footnote 142) were all incorporated to index a cultural attachment with Kurdish ethnicity.

Additionally, some of the Hackney Girls were part of a professional youth folklore group, which performed folk dances at weddings as well as on Turkish national days. For example, Nuray and Sema participated in a folk dance performance in public on a

19 May, Turkish national day celebration of the Youth and Sports Day in Turkey, in Newington Green (North London). Nuray proudly detailed the events of that day in an interview and showed me her photos in which she wore a London-inflected folk costume coloured in white and red, which symbolises the colours of the Turkish flag, as you can see in the photo below.

Figure 6: This photo shows the costume that Nuray and Sema wore on a Turkish national day celebration in North London.

The colours as well as the style of the costume chosen for this folk dance performance on a Turkish national day hint at a strong connection to the Turkish nation-state. This London-influenced interpretation of folk dance costume is completely different to the modes of cloth exhibited in traditional folk dance shows in Turkey, as shown in the following pictures.

Figure 7: The photos illustrate the folk dance costumes of a particular city in the Aegean region of Turkey. The picture on the left was captured during my own wedding, whilst the dancers were performing the traditional folk dance of this region. The one on the right was taken on a Turkish national day – 23 April Children's Day – in 1995, before my friends and I performed the regional folk dance to the audience at the stadium.

The comparison of the folk dance costumes in Figures 6 and 7 reveals that the traditional dance of Turkey in the London context is considered as a means through which the 'nationalist', 'secular' and 'modern' Turkish woman is constructed. This is achieved by choosing a costume design that reveals the woman's body rather than covering it as the traditional female costume adopted in Turkey aims to do[143], by adopting the colours of the Turkish flag, as well as by removing the *fez*, an indispensable element of female folk dance costume used to cover hair. The *fez,* in this costume design, seems to be intentionally abandoned, because the practice of covering hair in any form is generally viewed as an emblem of backwardness by a large secular segment of Turkish society. This mode of folk costume, chosen for a Turkish national day celebration in North London, manifests how folk dance, an essential element of Turkish nationalism (Öztürkmen, 2006), was embodied as a way of pronouncing attachment to the secular and modern Turkish state. Folk dance with costumes in the colours of the Turkish flag was adopted to construct a link between the cultural and national meanings of Turkishness.

A close look into the ordinary and staged folk dance performances of the Hackney Girls, as well as the costumes they wore for public performances in North London, demonstrates the complex and multi-faceted ethnic meanings given to these semiotics and bodily acts. For example, the costume embodied in the 'International Evening' celebration signalled their affiliation with a hybrid version of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities, created by bringing together the traditional and the contemporary in the London context. On the other hand, the girls' performance of the traditional Kurdish folk dance, the *halay,* in their everyday school life denoted their identification with gendered Kurdishness.

At the beginning of the chapter, I noted that there were gender differences in popular cultural engagements, with the Hackney Boys being oriented towards the British/Anglo-inflected popular cultural forms of rap/hip-hop and football, both of which hinted at their identification with urban masculinities. I will discuss how their popular cultural participation served as a medium that offered them manifestations of their masculine positionings.

7.5 The Hackney Boys and urban masculinities

The heavy connotation of assertive masculinity associated with Anglo rap/hip-hop music and football signifies the Hackney Boy's alignment with urban masculinities. In my data, I captured many occasions on which the young men with their male friends

[143]The comparison of the folk dance costumes in figures 6 and 7 shows that the traditional folk dance outfits adopted in Turkey aim to cover the woman's body through the layers of bulky clothes (figure 7), whereas the costume chosen for the North London folk dance performance deliberately ignores this aspect so as to create a modern and secular Turkish woman (figure 6).

from numerous ethnic backgrounds indulged themselves in long and serious discussions about the performance of footballers in English football clubs as well as songs and private lives of African-American rappers. The Hackney Boys' strong engagement with these popular cultural forms in their mundane lives provided an arena for them to assert their masculinities. To start with Anglo rap/hip-hop music, I will demonstrate how this music genre became a site through which the boys signified their black-led urban masculinities.

7.5.1. Anglo Rap/Hip-Hop music and Black masculinities

The Hackney Boys manifested a strong affinity for Anglo rap/hip-hop, because, I think it contains heavy connotation of black masculinities with which they desired to be associated. Hip-hop/rap music culture emanated from the streets of inner-city neighbourhoods in America in the 1970s (Kubrin, 2005) as a style describing the social, cultural and racial experiences of urban black youth (Gilroy, 1993). Caglar (1998:247) notes that 'in the public and scholarly discourses, rap is viewed as the self-assertive voice of the discriminated against and of those on the margins and accepted to be anchored in 'ghettos'. In other words, rap is understood to operate as 'an act of resistance' giving voice to the silenced (Ibrahim, 1999:365-66). However, Bennett points out that:

> The cultural significance of rap and hip hop cannot be reduced to singular or essentialist explanations but must be understood rather as a series of strategies which are worked out and staged in response to particular issues encountered in local situations.
>
> (Bennett, 1999:80-81)

In the case of the Hackney Boys, it would be misleading to read these young men's involvement in rap music form as a straightforward reaction to the dominant structural systems operating against the minority youth in British society. Shared experiences of impoverished neighbourhoods as well as the possible encounter with gang culture on the London streets can be the factors that might have attracted the young men to rap/hip-hop music. However, the tough black urban masculine image that the music genre evokes (Forman, 2002; Perry, 2004), and with which the Hackney Boys desired to be identified, played an important role in their strong attachment to this music. The following extract reveals that the boys affiliated with the African-American rapper Rick Ross[144], who performs a strong type of black masculinity in his music style, while disassociating themselves from the Londoner rapper of immigrant descent (Greek

[144]*Rick Ross* (birth name William Roberts) is a black American rapper. He selected the stage name to associate himself with the drug kingpin *Rick Ross* (Williams, 2010). As a teenager he got involved in drug dealing, and his involvement in crime continued even after he became famous. He was arrested on kidnapping and drug charges (see the link http://q13fox.com/2015/06/24/rapper-rick-ross-arrested-on-kidnapping-drug-charges/ accessed on 15.04.2016). His experiences on the streets as a young Black man are reflected in his songs in which he portrays a tough black masculine persona.

Cypriot), K Koke[145], who features impoverished areas of London where young people live in council flats, get involved in gangs and deal drugs to make a living, in his video clips and songs.

Episode 15

Participants/Setting: 04.11.2013. Baran (Kurdish descent, born in London, 16, m), Gencay (Turkish descent, born in Turkey raised in London, 16, m). It was a construction lesson. Baran turned on rap songs from his smart phone using the speaker function as he usually did in construction lessons. At the time when this conversation was taking place, Baran was listening to 'I Wonder Why?' by Rick Ross and singing simultaneously. Gencay interrupted him and started a conversation about particular rappers.

1. Gencay: K Koke is down
2. Baran: Na, he is not down, but he got released
3. Gencay: Yeah, {…} tune inni'?
4. Baran ((talking about Rick Ross)) Cous ((short for cousin)), he's always like
5. that. He makes tunes once in a while but he makes bangers in my
6. opinion.
7. Gencay: I can't lie dough, he's good.
8. Baran: Yeah, he's sick bruv. In my opinion, he's, he's my favourite fing,
9. English rapper, so
10. Gencay: You can understand like proper words, like voice {…} inni'?
11. Baran: Yeah, see that's the fing about him, he talks about real shit. Oder
12. rappers talk about money, drugs, all de bullshit and dat dey ain't , dey
13. ain't got (5) or deir, or deir gang fights.
14. Gencay: Dese gangbangers inni'?
15. Baran: Yeah, I hate dem. I can't never ever listen, I can't stand dem, bruv.
16. Gencay: Yeah, dey're talking about money and dey don't even have it.
17. Baran ((laughing)): Dey've got like 10 pound in deir pocket ((They continue talking about these rappers for a few more minutes))

In this episode, the boys expressed a strong attachment to the black rapper Rick Ross who portrays a strong masculine identity in his songs and video clips. Although Baran and Gencay seemed to be criticising the 'gangste rap' style which, Kubrin (2005:376) argues, 'promotes an accountability structure in which violence is legitimized and condoned', they were in fact critical about the fact that most rappers, like K Koke, were trying to represent a lifestyle that they did not lead. According to them, Rick Ross could afford to have a lavish lifestyle shown in his video clips, where expensive cars, piles of American dollars, beautiful girls, gold and diamond items and luxury houses, were widely depicted. This portrayal of a dominant black masculine persona who has control and power over everything and everyone seems to have

[145]K Koke (birth name Kevin Georgiou) is a British rapper of Greek Cypriot descent from the notorious Stonebridge estate in north-west London. He was arrested for attempted murder in 2011 and spent 7 months in custody (see the link http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/rockandpopmusic/9725260/K-Koke-New-Faces.html accessed on 15.04.2016). He asserts his masculine identity in his video clips though the images of black and white young men dominating London streets where gang fights and drug dealing are shown to be taking place.

attracted these young boys to the rap/hip-hop music genre in general, and to Rick Ross, in particular. To put it differently, the Hackney Boys seemed to have aligned with this black rapper mainly because rap/hip-hop 'constitutes a powerful location for asserting the particularity of black male identity' (Perry, 2004:118).

Although the Hackney Boys exhibited strong affiliation with rap/hip-hop music, they were considerably selective when it came to identifying with rap performers, as shown in the interaction above. They disassociated themselves from the London-based rapper of Greek Cypriot descent, K Koke, because, I argue, he failed to perform the type of strong black masculinity desired by the Hackney Boys. Likewise, they showed no interest in rappers from Turkey or Turkish rappers performing in Germany (see Caglar, 1998, Kaya, 2002 for Turkish rap groups in Germany). In his investigation into the music tendencies of London youth with ties to Turkey, Tkachenko (2009) also discovered that his informants did not engage with rap music produced in Turkey and by 'Turkish-speaking' youth in Germany. He states that 'whilst rap is a style listened to by many Turkish-speaking secondary school children they appear to be content with fashionable American artists such as 50 cents and Usher' (Tkachenko, 2009:240). As far as the Hackney Boys were concerned, they might have disengaged themselves from Turkish rappers as these figures did not project the prestigious black-led masculinities that American black rappers evoked.

Another dominant form of popular culture that signalled the Hackney Boys' identification with strong masculinity is football. Football provided a platform for them to reproduce and reinforce their working-class masculinity in this North London institutional setting.

7.5.2 English football clubs and working-class masculinity

Football is an aspect of popular culture that carried traces of the Hackney Boys' affiliation with British-inflected working-class masculinities. With regard to this male-dominated sport, Burgess et al. (2003:199) aptly put that 'football is a widely revered human activity that is strongly implicated in the construction of masculine identity'. The Hackney Boys signalled their alignment with football, and thus a kind of working-class masculinity, at every opportunity when they found themselves in male-only settings. In almost every PE lesson, for example, the boys enthusiastically played football on the pitch, while the girls were taken to the sports hall to play bench ball or do gymnastics by one of the (female mostly) PE teachers. These games of football 'provided an open stage for the boys to perform their masculinities on a regular basis' (Swain, 2000:103). The Hackney Boys also took an immense pleasure in participating in in-depth conversations about English football teams that could last for tens of minutes together

with other boys from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The construction class, made up of a homogenous male population, constituted an ideal environment for the boys to signify their working-class masculinity through hot debates on English football. The following excerpt from a construction lesson illustrates how the sport was utilised as a common point of interest that bore social cues in relation to the boys' gender and social class positionings.

Episode 16

Setting/Participants: 03.10.2013. Mr Knight (Construction teacher, White British, early 40s, m), Baran (Kurdish descent, born in London, 16, m), Hamid (Indian descent, 16, m), Hakan (Kurdish descent, born in London, 16, m), Musa (Indian-Irish descent, 16, m), Gencay (Turkish descent, born in Turkey raised in London, 16, m), Zahid (Indian descent, 16, m). The students were at the school workshop for a construction lesson. Mr Knight, the construction teacher, initiated a discussion on football by praising Manchester City football club. This then evoked the feelings in Baran to defend his favourite team Arsenal.

1. Mr Knight: I think Man City is doing the best actually
2. Baran ((shouting)): No, it's Arsenal, that's doing the best
3. Hamid: Liverpool
4. Baran: Tough luck, Arsenal are doing the best
5. Hakan: He just violated Man U
6. Baran: Who?
7. Hakan: You know Man U got {…} Hey, sir what did you say? What did you
8. say about Man U?
9. Hamid: Who's talking about football once again?
10. Baran: You can't, you can't say nothing about Arsenal
11. Hamid: {…}
12. Baran: Exactly. You can't say NOTHING about Arsenal
13. Hamid: Strike is on form, mid field is on form, the defence in on form
14. Baran: Everyman is on form. We're gonna have to win something this year
15. Gencay: Arsenal is goin ham [146]
16. Baran: Dey're goin ham
17. Zayd: Arsenal is basic
18. Musa: No, Dey're goin bacon
19. Baran: Haramммm[147]
20. Genc: Dey're goin Haram
21. Baran: Yeah, dey are goin Haram. Dey're raping every team
22. Zahid: Haram man
23. Baran: Exactly, exactly
24. Zayd: It's Haram
25. Baran: Exactly
26. Hakan: What's Haram?
27. Baran: The fact that Arsenal's raping every other team. We're too good.

[146]'Going ham' is a slang term which refers to someone putting so much effort into something.

[147]'Haram' is concerned with actions that are not allowed in Islam, such as consuming pork products, to which Baran referred in the dialogue.

This brief extract, which exemplifies a football-related conversation among the boys, hints at their identification with a kind of British-inflected working-class masculinity. For example, the use of the slang terms ‘going ham’ (lines 15, 16, see footnote 146) and ‘rape’ (lines 21, 27), as well as the relatively competitive nature of the interaction (lines 12, 14), bears heavy social connotations of hegemonic masculinity. Connell (2015:148) explains the ‘main patterns of contemporary hegemonic masculinity’ as ‘the subordination of women … and the connecting of masculinity to toughness and competitiveness’. The deployment of these heavily masculine slang terms alongside the male only composition of this conversation, like in all other dialogues on the English league I recorded and observed, shows that for these boys football served as a means of framing their hegemonic masculine identifications. I argue that the bodily strength and competence shown in this form of sport combined with the ‘manly’ dominance was operated as a medium of ‘collective’ expression of their masculinities (Swain, 2000).

The relationship between social class and football consumption is another important aspect to be taken into consideration due to the sport’s working-class roots. Emphasising the working-class background of this sport activity, Goulstone (2000:135) notes that ‘football itself came manifestly closer to the concept of a modern 'organised' sport within its popular working-class or 'folk' milieu than within that of the public schools and universities’. Therefore, since its promotion as a recreation activity to occupy of the minds and bodies of working men in industrial urban centres in 19th century Britain (Russell, 1999), football has been associated with working-class males. The Hackney Boys and their peers, who comprised young men of Black Caribbean and African and South Asian descent, were coming from low socio-economic backgrounds with parents doing blue collar jobs or on state benefits, as I highlighted before. Their attachment to football, performed on the school pitch during lunch breaks and PE lessons, as well as being reinforced through frequent discussions on it, signified the Hackney Boys’ working-class masculinity manifested collectively with their friends from the same social class background.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have given a detailed account of some of the ways in which various forms of popular culture, including transnational television, film, music, dance and sport, revealed something about the ethnicities of the Hackney Youth. These domains of popular culture were examined and analysed, because they constituted an important aspect of the adolescents’ everyday practices on which my study focused so as to construe Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities in contemporary North London. A close analysis of their popular cultural engagements has shown the complicated and nuanced ways in

which these practices of the adolescents opened up the multiple possibilities of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities. It has also presented that the youngsters' affiliation with different versions of Turkishness/Kurdishness was not random and chaotic but, to the contrary, carefully chosen and signalled through consistent patterns of engagement with popular culture. Paying close attention to their mundane popular cultural involvement and engagements has demonstrated that the Turkish/Kurdish inflection is considerably dominant, as broadly illustrated in the chapter. However, the boys in particular strongly identified with rap/hip-hop music produced by African-American musicians and British football, both of which have Anglo influences and are associated with hard, urban working-class masculinities. In short, zooming in on the everyday popular cultural practices of the Hackney Youth has allowed me to grasp how they signalled their attachments to specific types of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities through, for example, the microscopic details of bodily movement, dance music and artefacts. It has also made it possible to see the indirect ways in which the adolescents hinted at their working-class positionings by expressing a strong attachment to the Kurdish singer *Ahmet Kaya* and by identifying with the working-class characters in the Turkish TV soap *Pis Yedili* (Dirty Seven). My detailed descriptions given in the chapter have depicted some of the ways in which the Hackney Youth lived, experienced and implied their ethnic identifications through their popular cultural practices in a North London institutional setting. Focussing on their everyday engagement with popular cultural products emanating from different cultural backgrounds (Turkey, England and America) has facilitated the uncovering of the multi-faceted, complex and nuanced nature of their ethnicities.

CHAPTER 8

TURKISHNESS/KURDISHNESS in CONTEMPORARY LONDON

8.0 Introduction

My attempts to construe the ethnicities of the Hackney Youth have brought me to enquire about the ongoing debates around the notion of Turkishness in Turkey and in the UK. Paying close analytic attention to routine and ordinary language behaviour and popular cultural practices of these youngsters has demonstrated the multiple ways in which they managed and signalled their sense of ethnicities in an institutional context in North London. By drawing on the disciplines of sociology, sociolinguistic ethnography and cultural studies, this thesis has contributed to the study of the ethnicities of London youth of Turkish/Kurdish descent in a number of ways. Firstly, it reveals that the idea of Turkishness has hitherto been narrowly interpreted in the UK context, where most of the existing literature has tended to treat the category 'Turkish' as a homogenous whole. My research challenges this simplistic and straightforward conceptualisation of Turkishness and further offers a new perspective to the scrutiny of the notion in the UK by theorising it as an enormously complex and intricate social construct with social class underpinnings. Secondly, it demonstrates the significance of using an ethnographic approach to understand ethnicities in terms of practices, as opposed to alleged fixed states of being. Previous approaches to Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities have mostly relied on propositional statements about these ethnic labels obtained from qualitative interviews and surveys. But my contention has been that, although direct statements can contribute to understanding the notion of ethnicity when combined with other research methods (e.g. participant observation) to a certain extent, an investigation into ordinary social engagements and practices with an ethnographic gaze offers a valuable insight into how ethnicities are operated and lived. That is, in my thesis it is argued that ethnicities can be understood indirectly through actions, practices and engagements in which subjects routinely participate in their everyday lives. Participation in linguistic practices, popular culture and the local racial/ethnic landscape are some of the ways in which individuals signal their ethnic identifications. For example, an investigation of the Hackney Youth's habitual speech practices and popular cultural engagements has indicated their multiple and multi-faceted ethnic connections shaped by both Turkish/Kurdish and London-based influences. In addition, a focus on their ordinary linguistic and popular cultural practices has provided empirical grounds for illustrating why singular and narrow ethnic categorisations attributed to London adolescents with links to Turkey are unsatisfactory. Thirdly, my thesis demonstrates the inadequacy of the modernist definitions of language for fully

understanding the intricate and diverse language behaviour of the youngsters of Turkish and/or Kurdish descent in contemporary London. In contrast to some research that treats language entirely within the framework of standard language ideologies, my ethnographically informed approach shows that the Hackney Youth interacted outside the parameters of standard language norms, drawing on non-standard and even stigmatised features of Turkish/Kurdish as well as hybridised speech practices heavily influenced by their North London multi-ethnic and multilingual context. The social connotations of their habitual speech serve to index the working-class aspect of their ethnicities, which is marked by their affiliation with a) the multi-ethnic working-class vernaculars of North London, as well as b) rural and provincial working-class patterns of Turkish from Turkey. Having briefly outlined the main arguments put forward in my thesis, I will expand upon some of these points and provide suggestions for further research on the basis of some themes that emerged as being important during my data collection, but on which I was unable to focus owing to a lack of space.

8.1 Adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent in the UK and Turkishness/Kurdishness

In the introduction, I described how I embarked upon my PhD journey to find out the possible meanings of Turkishness for young Londoners with ties to Turkey. My personal encounters with adolescents of Turkish descent in the London space, where the way they behaved and spoke went beyond the boundaries of the 'imagined' and 'idealised' Turkishness prompted me to call into question the entrenched ideologies about this social construct. Therefore, I wanted to explore how young Londoners with connections to Turkey managed and responded to the idea of a uniform, singular and fixed 'Turkish' ethnicity, a classification which fails to represent their affiliations and experiences by placing them in a strictly defined national model. I then sketched the importance of locating the contemporary understanding of Turkishness in London in its historical context. That is, in giving a brief historical account of the emergence of the notion of Turkishness, I aimed to show the ethnic, linguistic and religious complexity and diversity that still exists within this allegedly static and homogenous concept, both in Turkey and in London. Consequently, in the introduction chapter I gave a detailed account of how I came to realise that the narrow conceptualisation of Turkishness was unsatisfactory for young Londoners with links to Turkey and that this social construct could be grasped only when situated in the historical context of the construction of the Turkish nation-state.

In Chapter 2 I critiqued the approach to ethnicity taken by some previous studies on Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities in the UK, which have regarded the

classification ‘Turkish’ as an adequate description of a monolithic, singular and uniform ethnic unit; I also argued for a more plural and open approach to ethnicity, such as that recommended by Stuart Hall (1988, 1996), where ethnicity is configured as a fluid social construct. It has been widely discussed that, in the UK context, the narrow designation of people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus has resulted in the widespread use of the, in fact controversial and problematic, label, ‘Turkish Speaking Community’, which prioritises Standard Istanbul Turkish and Turkish ethnicity over other ethnic and linguistic positionings. This umbrella term not only smothers the disparate and even sometimes conflicting ethnic, religious and linguistic positionings of migrants from Turkey and Northern Cyprus, but it further erases the diversity of these social identifications among younger generations in superdiverse London. Although some previous studies have recognised the unsuitability of such nation-centric classifications for inherently heterogeneous groups (e.g. King et al., 2008a, b), as well as indicated the emergence of hybrid ethic identifications and practices among ‘Turkish’ youth in the UK (e.g. Küçükcan, 1999), they have been weak in challenging simplistic approaches to the scrutiny of young people with diasporic ties to Turkey. They have also lacked substantial empirical evidence to illuminate these people’s ethnic affiliations experienced in the flow of ordinary life. In my thesis, I have analysed how the adolescents of Turkish/Kurdish descent managed their ethnicities and identifications as they went about their lives in a London institutional context. The significance of this setting lies in the fact that no previous research has examined the everyday social encounters of adolescents from these ethnic backgrounds in such a setting.

My first contribution to the study of Turkishness in the UK is to contest the readily-acquired, static and uniform interpretation of this notion, and bringing a new perspective to it by conceptualising it as a dynamic, inherently heterogeneous and complicated historical construct. My research findings challenge what Brubaker calls, ‘groupism’, which is

> the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis.
>
> Brubaker (2002:164)

In my review of the existing literature on people with connections to Turkey and Northern Cyprus in the UK, I pointed out that one of the major problems with previous research is the lack of a critical perspective questioning to what extent such dynamic and complex ethnic groups can be explored with static and fixed approaches to them. I emphasised that, for a robust research project, the researcher should problematise the simplistic and straightforward interpretation of Turkishness in the UK and take ethnic

diversity as the point of departure. In order to achieve this, the complications involved in this taken-for-granted concept should be dealt with through open and flexible approaches to the notion of ethnicity. This brings me to the theoretical argument put forward in my thesis. In Chapter 2, I argued that the only way to understand Turkishness/Kurdishness in the UK is to adopt fluid and ambiguous configurations of ethnicity, in line with what Brubaker suggests:

> Ethnicity, race … should be conceptualized not as substances or things or entities or organisms or collective individuals – as the imagery of discrete, concrete, tangible, bounded and enduring 'groups' encourages us to do – but rather in relational, processual, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated terms. This means thinking of ethnicity … not in terms of substantial groups or entities but in terms of *practical categories*, *cultural idioms*, *cognitive schemas*, *discursive frames*, *organizational routines*, *institutional forms, political projects* and *contingent events.*
>
> (Brubaker, 2002:167)

My thesis findings have shown empirically that what Turkishness/Kurdishness might mean for the young Londoners of Turkish and/or Kurdish descent is tremendously complex and multi-layered, involving a host of myriad distinctive practices, social positionings and momentary expressions of attachment. This perspective is achieved through my theoretical positioning in which youth ethnicities are conceived to be configured ambivalently and contextualised in a particular time and social space, i.e. having 'no guarantees in Nature' (Hall, 1988:254). Hall's (1996:443) groundbreaking conceptualisation of ethnicities has enabled me to recognise 'the immense diversity and differentiation of the historical and cultural experiences' of the Hackney Youth and to reflect this multiplicity and fragmentation in my analysis.

The analytical depth that I have employed to bring out the complex and heterogeneous nature of Turkishness/Kurdishness in the UK has been rendered possible through an ethnographic perspective. My thesis demonstrates the significance of employing ethnography, whilst studying ethnicities in multi-ethnic settings. As I detailed in Chapter 3, my research involved adopting an ethnographic perspective to obtain a close understanding of ethnicities in terms of the practices and stances performed in the everyday. Back highlights the significance of scrutinising the mundane through an ethnographic perspective to provide insight into social life with these words:

> Everyday life is precisely the place where this complexity unfolds, and therefore why studying it is important. This requires, I would argue, an ethnographic sensibility and an ongoing engagement with lives unfolding in real time and through time.
>
> (Back, 2015:843)

Back further points out that investigating ordinary life 'matters', because it allows researchers to analyse the social problems and inequalities that are lived in the routine practices of the everyday, as well as to understand the relationship between small

mundane acts and wider social structures. Focussing on the everyday habitual behaviours of the Hackney Youth in a school setting by adopting an ethnographic approach also made it possible for me to explore empirically how their ethnic attachments, tightly linked with their social class and gender positioning, were signalled and experienced in their day-to-day encounters.

Previous research investigating Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities has over-focussed on declarative statements about these categories acquired from interviews and surveys. But, as Tremlett and Harris (2016:148) aptly argue, 'asking people directly about ethnicity/'race' … can render these informants one-dimensional, as if all that is in their lives is a fixed discourse focused on one kind of ethnic/racial positioning'. My study offers a much richer view than previous UK research of Turkish/Kurdish ethnicities as processes and practices signalled in ordinary engagements, by moving beyond propositional data produced by the interview. The significance of ethnography for my thesis lies in the fact that not only does it bring new insights into the possible meanings of Turkishness/Kurdishness in the UK, but it also challenges some established norms and stereotypes about the 'Turks' and 'Kurds' in London. This 'democratic' and 'anti-hegemonic' dimension of ethnography (Hymes, 1980) has the power to deconstruct the narrow and homogenous interpretation of Turkishness in the UK by giving a voice to the hitherto underrepresented young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent. Blommaert explains this feature of ethnography as follows:

> Ethnography would be a science ''of the people'' in the sense that it would keep its two feet in the lived experience of those whom it studied, and that it therefore would abstain from pontificating and a priori theorizing but instead offer voice to those it studied. In that sense, it would also be an anti-hegemonic science, one that destabilized accepted views by allowing different voices to speak: a science that constantly calls into question the status of ''truth,'' and constantly negates what is known by going out to find more.
>
> (Blommaert, 2009:258)

Taking an ethnographic perspective when investigating the everyday experiences of the Hackney Youth allowed me to question established norms about, as well as fixed and static interpretations of, Turkishness in the UK. It further offered alternative perspectives on how this ethnic notion is lived and experienced through routine and unspectacular activities, actions and affiliations in an educational setting in North London. This highlights my second contribution to knowledge about the study of Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities in the UK. I have argued that ethnicities can be construed indirectly through people's management of their ethnic landscape, unspectacular behaviour and ordinary engagements. In paying close attention to the Hackney Youth's participation in popular culture and language behaviour in the everyday, I have demonstrated the many ways in which their ethnic identifications are signalled through these routine practices. As I discussed earlier, the idea of

Turkishness in the UK has been centred on a nation-centric, uniform and homogenous, in other words, primordial, view of ethnicity mainly because of over-reliance on ethnic statements given by participants in interviews and owing to specific theoretical stances about the nature of ethnicity. In Chapter 4, I showed that there were moments when the Hackney Youth themselves appeared to identify with the kinds of 'groupism' that Brubaker (2002:164) disparages.

Despite my thesis being focussed on relatively indirect notions of ethnicity, I did briefly discuss explicit ethnic declarations made by the Hackney Youth and their links with ongoing ethno-political developments in Turkey. The historical account of the ethno-political fragmentations between Kurds and Turks as well as Sunni and Alevis was given to provide background that would explain some of the explicit declarations made by the Hackney Youth. However, I approached these momentary statements cautiously and did not interpret them as automatic signs of there being a schism between Kurds and Turks in London. My broader ethnographic insights showed that the Hackney Youth established strong friendship ties, spending their breakfast and lunch breaks together, meeting up at weekends and visiting each others' homes, regardless of their disparate ethnic and religious attachments. Their close social engagements challenged the alleged division between these two ethnic groups in London. Furthermore, my personal experiences of growing up in a neighbourhood in western Turkey, where people with ties to Kurdish ethnicity were well-respected and loved by other neighbours, as well as of having many good friends of Kurdish descent, also challenge the media reports and dominant discourses centred on conflict and discrimination. My aim in making this claim is not to underplay the ongoing effects of racism and discrimination against Kurds in Turkey (see Çırakman, 2011; Dixon and Ergin, 2010; Ergin, 2012) and London. However, when everyday life in London (as well as in Turkey) is examined closely with a micro level orientation, it can easily be seen that significant numbers of individuals with connections to Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities have constructed a convivial culture in which their differences are regarded as banal. My research outcomes have shown that in order to capture the many ways in which people manage their divergent affiliations and identifications, one should look beyond direct statements and concentrate on ordinary encounters, practices and behaviours performed in the fleeting contingencies of social engagements.

In my thesis, I have contended that looking more closely at processes, practices and actions in the everyday produces penetrating insights into Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities in multi-ethnic and multilingual settings like London. In Chapter 5, I have shown the contestation between the continued dominance of Standard Istanbul Turkish and the Hackney Youth's habitual Turkish language behaviour influenced by rural and

non-standard varieties of Turkish adopted in the North London space. Although the prestige and high status of the standard form sometimes had an impact on the conscious speech of the adolescents, they embodied non-standard and even stigmatised versions of Turkish (and Kurdish-inflected speech) in their routine talk. The prevalence of low-status and rural tokens of speech in their language use bears social meanings in relation to their working-class positioning back in Turkey as well as in their North London context. Coming from families that had migrated to London from rural areas in Turkey with high hopes that they would achieve upward social mobility, but ended up in one of the most deprived boroughs of London (IPPR, 2007), the Hackney Youth manifested their working-class identification in their widespread use of non-standard patterns of Turkish.

In Chapter 6, a detailed analysis of the Hackney Youth's mundane speech revealed their tremendously hybrid language use grounded in the non-standard varieties of Turkish and English widely used in the North London space they inhabit. Despite being regarded as a sign of a lack of linguistic competence, they juxtaposed a wide range of linguistic items in their talk-in-interaction, as well as actively participating in and contributing to the multi-ethnic vernacular of their North London locality. In their routine speech, the adolescents operated beyond the boundaries of assumptions about 'pure', 'bounded' and 'natural' standard language by making use of every linguistic item at their disposal for social interaction. Their habitual talk indicated that their ethnicities were constituted and constantly reshaped around their ambivalent and momentary London, Turkish and Kurdish identifications with working-class inflections. This shows that an important aspect of the Hackney Youth's ethnicities was linked to their diasporic connections as well as social class affiliation. In a broader sense, it can be claimed that Turkishness/Kurdishness in London cannot be fully grasped without paying attention to the role of social class in the formation of these ethnic constructs. This is something that could be explored more directly and fully in future research.

In Chapter 7, I have broadly described the references the Hackney Youth made to, as well as their performances of, particular elements of Turkish/Kurdish- and Anglo/British-inflected popular culture ranging across TV soap operas, football, folk dance and films. Their engagement with, and participation in, popular culture carried social meanings that facilitated a deeper understanding of how Turkishness/Kurdishness is experienced in contemporary North London. The ways in which the Hackney Youth showed preference for particular Turkish TV dramas, referred to African-American rappers and showed interest in the traditional folk musical instrument, the *baglama,* are indicative of the intricate and complex synthesis of their ethnicities, which can be deeply local in the North London space and at the same time

connected with their diasporic Turkish/Kurdish identifications. In brief, a focus on the everyday and unspectacular linguistic and popular cultural practices of the Hackney Youth has revealed that their everyday practices, closely intertwined with the cultures and languages of both spaces, occurred simultaneously at most unexpected moments. For example, when the girls were performing a Turkish/Kurdish traditional folk dance with the music playing from their smart phones, they were also simultaneously talking about all sorts of other things by using mixed Turkish-English speech and non-standard regional features of Turkish. This suggests that Turkishness/Kurdishness in the UK has different shades and types of meaning as well as multiple connections that can be captured by going beyond narrow labels and classifications, which involves zooming in on the actions, behaviours, interactions and engagements of individuals in the mundane.

8.3 Other Emerging Themes

During the data collection and analysis phase of my research, particular themes emerged as important, yet I was unable to focus on them due to space limitations. I will now touch briefly upon these and explain why future research is needed.

i) Educational underachievement of Turkish/Kurdish youth

The general, rather stereotypical, perception of youngsters of Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish descent within the school context where I conducted the research, was that students from these groups were failing academically. In fact, the low educational attainment of students from these ethnic backgrounds has been a topic of debate in UK social science research, which has been scrutinised through performance in national examinations as well as qualitative interviews (e.g. Baykusoglu, 2009, 2014; Issa et al., 2008; Jones, 2014; Mehmet Ali, 2001). In their report on the academic attainment of adolescents from these ethnic groups, Issa et al. (2008) has identified low levels of English language skills, low teacher expectations and parents' lack of knowledge of the British education system, as contributing to the phenomenon of underachievement among these ethnic minority adolescents. Enneli et al. (2005:13) also note that 'from the perspective of our respondents, their school experience is generally not a good one', emphasising survey findings as well as interview statements of youngsters with regard to their relatively unpleasant school experiences. The failure of youngsters from these ethnic groups in the education system was also a 'hot' topic at my London secondary school research site, where the Head organised several meetings with teachers and teaching assistants of Turkish/Kurdish descent to discuss further plans to overcome this issue; writing/reading activities with selective students from these ethnic backgrounds were organised to encourage them to read and write

more. Several teachers and teaching assistants of Kurdish/Turkish descent had been recruited to work with these adolescents. In our everyday conversations, teaching staff would sometimes end up complaining about the lack of educational aspiration among youngsters with connections to Turkey and Northern Cyprus. On one occasion, an English teacher (White British, f), who was in the classroom to observe a photography lesson, even bluntly mentioned this to Shanley (Turkish-Irish descent, f) and Sema (Turkish descent, f), when they were busy talking about other things. The English teacher approached the girls and said:

1. Teacher: Hello, I'm just gonna come over to say
2. Shanley: Yeah
3. Teacher: Turkish and Kurdish students underachieve
4. Shanley: Yeah.
5. Teacher: Yeah, OKAY. You knew about that. Why I've sat in this lesson for
6. nearly 45 minutes OKAY, I've seen Sema have a conversation about
7. where she's gonna sit, rather than sitting and getting on, I've seen
8. you eating
9. Shanley: Not now. I was eating chocolate, yeah.
10. Teacher: OKAY, and I'm thinking about both can actually how, I'm looking
11. around the room, there're lots of students in here who are really
12. focussed, who are getting on, who know what they're doing. And I'm
13. thinking about your little extension of break time, your social life in this
14. room yeah. I'm thinking you need to be aware that teachers see you
15. here and I'm worried about you...

(recording: 06.11.2013)

The girls were extremely disappointed by what they had just heard and expressed their feelings as soon as the teacher left the classroom 10 minutes later:

1. Shanley: Sinirimi bozdu o kadın
<that woman pissed me off>
2. Sema: Same
3. Shanley: Like
4. Sema: She could have said anything but not the Turkish and Kurdish one

In the episode, when the teacher saw these girls distracted by other things happening around them, she automatically labelled them as 'underachievers' simply because of their ethnic backgrounds. However, she was unaware that these two particular girls did not in fact fit the academically unsuccessful 'Turkish/Kurdish' student image. Sema, for example, was one of the brightest students of Turkish descent and had received high marks in her mock GCSE exams. Likewise, Shanley was also a responsible student who did her assignments on time, participated in lessons and respected her teachers. This interactional data shows that such dominant discourses constrain youth with connections to Turkey and Northern Cyprus within ethnic stereotypes, which allow no room for them to manoeuvre and express their self identifications. My research is

aimed at offering a glimpse of what their ordinary lives, attachments and identifications might look like when examined from a broader angle that goes beyond such entrenched assumptions. Having said this, I do not intend to underestimate the issue of low levels of educational attainment among some youngsters from these backgrounds, including the Hackney Youth, as has been widely documented in previous research (e.g Issa et al., 2008).

At my fieldsite, both the Hackney Youth and their teachers openly articulated or implicitly indicated the phenomenon of educational underachievement in their interactions with me. Despite the importance of this problem, the existing academic literature fails to uncover how the discourses of low attainment concerning students of Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish descent are produced within educational settings and how these students perceive and respond to these characterisations. Thus, empirical research emerging from researchers' participation in school life, where the discourses of underachievement is generated, contested and negotiated in talk-in-interaction, is needed so as to grasp the ongoing social dynamics related to the academic attainment of adolescents from these ethnic backgrounds.

ii) Settings in the community away from schools

As discussed earlier, the majority of empirical research on young people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus in the UK context (mostly London) has been carried out in complementary school settings, drawing attention to these institutions' role in the promotion and dissemination of Standard Turkish and Turkish 'national' culture (Çavuşoğlu, 2010, 2014; Creese et al., 2008; Lytra, 2011, 2012, 2013; Lytra and Baraç, 2008). However, there are many other sites at which the participation and social engagement of these youngsters can be explored. For example, during my data collection, I noticed that the Hackney Youth used a wide range of social spaces in their routine lives. They usually went to the nearby kebab shop, run by a Kurdish couple, to buy their lunch; the girls sometimes popped in to the barber shop, located next to the kebab shop, to chit-chat the Turkish/Kurdish boys working there. Some of them frequently visited community centres to learn how to perform Turkish/Kurdish folk dances and to play the traditional musical instrument *baglama,* as well as mosques to gain knowledge about Islam and the religious rituals followed by Muslims. These sites regularly used by youngsters of Turkish and Kurdish descent still remain unresearched. An ethnographic inquiry into these spaces exploring their social and cultural roles for these individuals, with particular attention to the context (semiotics in the surrounding and wider social and historical formations that influence the event) and interactional

process, would bring new insights into the ways in which the people in question operate their mundane lives.

iii) Social class

As I mentioned earlier, the question of social class has hitherto been neglected in previous research investigating people with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus in UK social science research. Consequently, I think, there is a pressing need for closer investigation into how social stratification structures the life chances of these individuals. In my research, it was very noticeable to me that the working-class background of the Hackney Youth had an impact on many aspects of their everyday lives in their North London context. For example, their low placement in the social stratification manifested itself in the non-standard features of Turkish and English they pervasively adopted in their routine speech. They also sometimes indicated their working-class identification when they talked about their rural origins in Turkey (their summer holidays in their parents' village), their parents' occupation (working in kebab shops or on benefits) and education level (mostly only to primary school level), as well as some particular brands they could and could not afford. For example, on one occasion, Gizem told me that she always wanted to buy her clothes from TopShop, but she simply could not afford this. Hence, she had to shop at Primark and H&M. In short, their social class status had implications about how they lived in London, for example, with regard to their cultural orientation, future aspiration (e.g. the boys wanted to be plumbers), accommodation type (council flats), friendship network, academic achievement and so on. As my focus was on their language use and popular cultural engagements, in particular, I could not go into these dimensions of social class, which also deeply shaped their lives. Further research delving into the effects of social structure and inequality on how Londoners with ties to Turkey and Northern Cyprus can and cannot live is needed.

8.4 Conclusion

This thesis has empirically explored possible meanings of Turkishness/Kurdishness for a group of young Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent who have long been mis- and underrepresented in the academic literature. It has shown that Turkishness is a social construct and has no fixed and static meanings; the fluidity and dynamism of the notion emerges from the fact that it changes in different contexts and requires attention to interactional processes. However, in the existing academic literature the ambivalent nature of Turkishness either has not been adequately dealt with or has been smothered by nation-centric approaches to this historical construct. Therefore, this research involved taking up, what Hall calls (1985:112), 'ideological struggle' in relation

to ‘interrupt[ing] the ideological field and try[ing] to transform its meaning by changing or re-articulating its associations’. The struggle against the monolithic and homogenous ascriptions to Turkishness has revealed that this historical and social construct comprises a wide range of social meanings in the contemporary North London space. Studying youth ethnicities with an anti-essentialist eye has led to findings that challenge the deep-rooted assumptions and norms about the singularity and homogeneity of Turkishness in the UK. I believe that the fine-grained details of everyday life that have brought out the lived experiences of the Londoners of Turkish/Kurdish descent has delievered, what Willis and Trondman call, “aha’ affects’,

> where evocative expression through data hits the experience, body, and emotions of the reader. These are moments where new understandings and possibilities are opened up in the space between experience and discourse, at the same time deconstructing and reshaping the taken for granted in a particular response to the shape of the social order, a response that transcends dichotomies such as public/private, social/individual. Aha effects fuse old experiences with new ones, thus opening up readers’ minds towards new horizons.
> (Willis and Trondman, 2000:12)

My detailed account of some of Turkish/Kurdish youngsters’ everyday social engagements and participations offers new perspectives and understandings of lived and experienced Turkishness/Kurdishness in the 21st century North London context. This thesis is a small step forward, playing a part in the process of change in the reworkings of Turkishness/Kurdishness within academia as well as in educational establishments in London. Hymes (1980:154-155) brilliantly observes that ‘change in what we know can never be enough, yet without it the other changes are impossible’. I hope that this investigation, in its focus on the Hackney Youth, has made a small contribution to the understandings of the sophisticated and intricate nature of Turkishness/Kurdishness in the UK.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Information sheet/consent form for students

Dear Student,

My name is Hulya Baysal. I am a second year PhD student at King's College London. I would like to invite you to participate in this study **which will look at the language use and ethnicity of Turkish and Kurdish young people in London.**

You should only agree to participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you make your decision it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what you will be asked to do. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully and discuss it with your classmates, teachers and parents if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

In order to help my research I would like to spend time in your school including in some of your classes to understand what school life is like for you. I might want to ask you some questions from time to time and I might want to audio record some of your conversations and also some of your ordinary conversations with your classmates, friends or teachers. **I should emphasise that I am not going to evaluate your performance in class.**

I expect to be doing this research in your school until the end of 2013. Any interview I do with you will take place **on school premises**. **You will not be assessed or graded based on your answers in the interviews**. You can end interviews or stop the radio-microphone recordings at any time you wish. **You do not have to answer all interview questions I address to you**. **The questions will seek to understand your in and out school activities. I might direct you questions like 'what kind of music do you like' or 'what is your favourite band?'. I might interview you several times (twice), each interview lasting about 30-40 minutes. The interviews will be audio-recorded, but the parts that you do not want to be mentioned in my research will be destroyed.**

Your participation in the study will be voluntary. **You will be able to withdraw at any stage and time without giving a reason**. You will not be exposed to any kind of risk if you agree to participate. I will transcribe your radio-microphone recordings and interviews for my analysis. However, everything you say will remain completely confidential and anonymous. Your name will be replaced by an invented name from all documents. They will be stored in my password protected computer. Only my supervisors and I will have full access to the transcriptions and recordings. Though I may refer to something you write or say in my thesis, you will not be named, and it will be impossible for anyone to identify you or your school. **Should you decide to withdraw from the project you can do it any time and you may ask for the interview and radio-microphone recordings and their transcriptions to be deleted permanently at**

any time before 30th December 2013. Throughout the process I will follow the strict ethical rules required by King's College London and meet the legal requirements of the 1998 Data Protection Act.

If you have any questions or want a copy of the final report, please contact me via email … or at … If you decide to participate, then please sign and return the attached form.

Finally, if this study harms you in any way you can contact … (supervisor's contact details) using the details below for further advice and information:

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENTS

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 30th December 2013. ☐
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- I agree that the researcher may interview me. ☐
- I agree that the researcher may make audio recordings of my speech (using a radio microphone attached to my clothes) for the purposes of this research project. ☐

Participant's Statement:

I _____agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed Date

Investigator's Statement:

I _____confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Date

APPENDIX B: Information sheet/consent form for parents

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Hulya Baysal. I am a second year PhD student at King's College London. I would like to invite your son/daughter to participate in this study **which will look at the language use of Turkish and Kurdish (who migrated from Turkey) students (Turkish, English, Kurdish and other languages) and their cultural practices (dress code, music style) in a London secondary school.**

Your son/daughter should only agree to participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you and your son/daughter in any way. Before you decide whether your son/daughter want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what their participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me or other teachers if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. This information sheet and form seek your consent for your son/daughter's participation. A separate information sheet and form will be provided for your son/daughter to give their own consent.

The aim of this research project is to investigate the linguistic and cultural practices of Turkish and Kurdish students in a London secondary school. I have chosen to look into the linguistic and cultural practices of these adolescents because these groups of young people and the way they use their languages have not been adequately researched in the British context. I believe this research will help us better understand the linguistic resources (English, Turkish, Kurdish and other languages) that adolescents of Turkish and Kurdish descent draw on in a school setting, their interactions with group members and other students, their cultural practices, and the way these all influence their ethnic identities**. I should emphasise that I am not going to evaluate your son/daughter's performance in class.**

In order to understand their language use I would like to sit in their class and audio record some of them, and also have short interviews with some of them.

If you and your child are agree, this might mean allowing your child to participate in:

i) Allowing me to be at your child's class attending his/her lessons. I will keep fieldnotes of how they use language in class with their friends and teachers.
ii) 5-8 pupils in your child's class will be interviewed twice **(about 30 minutes each). Interviews will take place in the school premise and be audio-recorded. However, any part that your child does not want to be mentioned in my research will be destroyed upon request. Interview questions will aim to understand your child's life in and out of the school. For that reason, I might ask questions about his/her favourite band, film, actor and actress, and the activities they do at school.** These 5-8 students will be also asked their (and their parents') permission to wear a radio-microphone attached to their clothing to record their speaking 5 school days for about 1 hour each day plus the breaks preceding and following the

lessons (approximately 10 minutes break in an hour). **The radio-microphone transmitters have an off/on button and the participants will be able to control when they will be recorded and at any point they can choose to switch it off.** Your child will be reminded via the morning assemblies about the teaching periods under investigation and which pupils will be wearing radio-microphones. **Your child will also be informed about his/her right to opt out by asking the pupils with the radio-microphones to switch it off if they wish their speech not to be recorded.** I will be in the class and around the students with the microphones to make sure that any relevant selections will be deleted if your child requests to do so.

iii) Follow up interviews: Selected extracts from the recordings will be played back to participating students to comment on them. Each interview will last **about 20-30 minutes.**

These activities will be spread over the course of the calendar year up to **December 2013**. **Student Interviews will take place on school premises.** Conversational interviews and students' interactions among themselves and with teachers will allow me to portray a broader picture of how they use language in a school setting, their music taste and their areas of interest. **Your child will not be assessed or graded based on their answers in interviews. Your child can end the interview or stop the radio-microphone recording at any time s/he wishes. S/he does not have to answer the questions I address to him/her.** The interview questions will be mainly designed to better understand their life in England, their migration trajectories, their hobbies and music/film choices.

Your son/daughter's participation in the study will be voluntary. **He/she will be able to withdraw at any stage and time without giving a reason**. S/he will not be exposed to any kind of risk if they agree to participate. I will transcribe their radio-microphone recordings and interviews for my analysis. However, anything s/he says will remain completely confidential and anonymous. His/her name will be replaced by an invented name from all documents. The data will be stored in my password protected computer. Only I and my supervisors will have full access to the transcriptions and recordings. Though I may refer to something s/he writes or says in my thesis, s/he will not be named, and it will be impossible for anyone to identify them or their school. **Should you decide to withdraw your son/daughter from the project you may ask for the interview and radio-microphone recordings and interview transcriptions to be deleted permanently at any time before 30th December 2013.** Throughout the process I will follow the strict ethical rules required by King's College London and meet the legal requirements of the 1998 Data Protection Act.

The results will be published in my doctoral thesis.

If you need any further information or want a copy of the final report, please contact me via email … or at ... It is up to you to decide whether to allow your daughter/son to participate or not. If you decide to consent to your son/daughter participating, please keep this information sheet and sign the consent form provided. Please be also aware that if you decide to give permission, your son/daughter is still free to withdraw from the research project at any time without giving a reason.

Finally, if you feel this study harms your child in any way you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information (supervisor's details):

Yours sincerely,

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Thank you for considering your child to take part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree your child to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether your child to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify your son/daughter from any publications.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish for my child to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw my child from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my child's data up to 30th December 2013. ☐
- I consent to the processing of my child's personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- I agree that the researcher may interview my child. ☐
- I agree that the researcher may make audio recordings of my child's speech in class for the purposes of this research project. ☐

Parent's Statement:

I _____agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree my child to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed (parent/carer) Date

Investigator's Statement:

I _____confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant and her/his parent.

Signed Date

APPENDIX C: Information sheet/consent form for teachers

Dear Teacher,

My name is Hulya Baysal. I am a second year PhD student at King's College London. I have been sponsored by the Ministry of Education in Turkey for my MA and PhD studies at King's College London. **I would like to invite you to participate in this study which will look at the language use of Turkish and Kurdish (who migrated from Turkey) students (Turkish, English, Kurdish and other languages) and their cultural practices (dress code, music style) in a London secondary school.**

You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

The aim of this research project is to investigate the linguistic and cultural practices of Turkish and Kurdish students in a London secondary school. I have chosen to look into the linguistic and cultural practices of CTK adolescents because these groups of young people and the way they use their languages have not been adequately researched in the British context. I believe this research will help us better understand the linguistic resources (English, Turkish, Kurdish and other languages) that Turkish and Kurdish adolescents draw on in a school setting, their interactions with group members and other students, their cultural practices, and the way these all influence their ethnic identifications. **I should emphasise that I am not going to evaluate individual classroom performances or teaching methods.**

If you agree to take part, this might mean participating in 4 types of activity:

- Allowing me to be present in your classroom and observe the classroom activities and students' interaction with each other and teachers.
- Allowing me to talk to you in conversation interviews about the school life in order to get a better understanding of how school operates in students' lives (If you do not want to take part in conversations, but allow the researcher to be present in your class, you will be exempted from the interview part of this research). I may interview you once lasting about 30-40 minutes. Interview questions will mainly attempt to understand what the school life is like. Therefore, I might ask you questions like 'what do you enjoy most in teaching' or 'what kind of music do your students listen to?'The interview will take place in the school premise and audio-recorded. The parts that you do not want to be mentioned in my research will be destroyed.
- Letting some pupils in your lessons to use radio microphones to record their speaking. 5-8 students will wear radio microphones 5 times of each lasting about 1 hour. These recordings will be spread over the course of the calendar year up to **December 2013**. I will also be at the

vicinity at all times. Other pupils at the school will be informed about who will be wearing radio microphones in case any of their speech gets recorded accidentally. Also, they will be told that any speech which does get recorded accidentally will be deleted if requested.

Your participation in the study will be voluntary. **You will be able to withdraw at any stage and any time without giving a reason**. You will not be exposed to any kind of risk if you agree to participate. However, anything you do or say will remain completely confidential and anonymous. They will be stored in my password protected computer. Only my supervisors and I will have full access to them. Though I may refer to something you do or say in my thesis or in lectures and seminars, you will not be named, and it will be impossible for anyone to identify you or your school. Should you decide to withdraw from the project you may ask for the recordings and transcriptions to be deleted permanently at any time before **30th December 2013**. Throughout the process I will follow the strict ethical rules required by King's College London and meet the legal requirements of the 1998 Data Protection Act. The results will be published in some journals and will be presented in international seminars.

If you wish further information, please contact me via email ... or at ... It is up to you whether you participate or not. If you do agree to participate, please keep this information sheet and sign the consent form provided.

Finally, if this study has harmed you in any way you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS

Please complete this form after they have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.

Please tick or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to 30 December 2013. ☐
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998. ☐

- I agree that the researcher may observe my class and use data recorded in my class and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report). ☐
- I agree that the researcher may use information given during my interview for the purposes of this research project. ☐

Participant's Statement:

I _____agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed (teacher) Date

Investigator's Statement:

I _____confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed Date

APPENDIX D: Example of a transcribed interview including identifications of regularly occurring linguistic features (Note identification of non-standard English features e.g. 'th' /ð/ pronounced as /d/ [Black-influenced English],'t glottaling' 'put' pronounced as /puʔ/ [working-class London English])

Participants/setting: 10.10.2013. Baran (16, m, Kurdish descent, born in London), Hulya (28, f, Turkish). The interview took place in a nearby café run by a middle-aged Turkish Cypriot man. It lasted about 40 minutes. In the following extract, Baran talked about his work experience in Year 10, his summer holidays in Turkey, some of the fun activities he did with his friends and his family.

Transcription conventions:
Arial: Standard English speech
Arial (italic, bold): Non-standard English speech
Century Gothic: Standard Turkish speech

Hulya: What did you do for your work experience?

Baran: For school?

Hulya: Yeah

Baran: I worked in a garage but ***dat*** didn't, ***dat*** didn't really turn out to be good

Hulya: Really? Why didn't you enjoy it?

Baran: I think, it was cos my colleagues weren't ***dat*** nice to me

Hulya: Why not?

Baran: Well, I only worked for two days cos on ***de*** second day I've got a cold, really bad illness so I was just at home, just ***dat*** literally suffering from illness and yeah so I was ***dere*** and the first day I got overall, I was quite dirty and ripped, ***dat*** was very cold, under 0 degrees, and on ***de*** second day ***dat*** happened again and ***dat*** was when I caught the flu, yeah so I was ill for two weeks so I couldn't really go so I had to call school every day. I lost my voice at ***dat*** time, yeah I lost my voice and I had a really bad high temperature, I couldn't really talk, I couldn't really enjoy my work experience.

Hulya: Ohh what a shame, why didn't you do something to do with plumbing?

Baran: I couldn't. I actually ***puʔ*** it down but ***dey*** did not pick me. If I do, if I do have, get a chance again, I'll probably end up plumbing apprenticeship or probably go work in my primary school.

Hulya: Primary school? As what?

Baran: As just a teacher, just like a teacher ***dat*** helps out students, learning support, probably ***somefing*** like ***dat***

Hulya: Quite interesting (...) How about your summers? Do you go to Turkey?

Baran: Hopefully, next year we'll do, ***dat's*** what my mum said anyway, ***dis*** year we didn't get to

Hulya: Why?

Baran: Cos my dad had the shop sold, he had to work on ***dat***. I went the year before ***dat*** I think it was, it was the year, it was 2010 ***dat*** I went last time

Hulya: 3 years ago

Baran: Yeah, I went in 2010 ***wif*** my family and 2011 we all, I went ***wif*** my mum coz she was gonna have an operation ***bu?*** ***den*** she didn't, she didn't do ***dat***. So we just ***dere*** for 2 weeks. And ***dat***'s been it, ***dis*** year for ***de*** holidays I went to Doncaster, where my cousin lives, outside London, south Yorkshire.

Hulya: How was it?

Baran: Hmmm, not very good, not very good. Cos my ***brover*** turned 18 recently so ***dey*** were out clubbing when I was at home with my little cousin

Hulya: Because you're not allowed to

Baran: Yeah, I'm not allowed to, ***bu?*** I don't mind, when the time come I'll be able to go as well, I've got another 2 years anyway

Hulya: So you can't, I think, some people under 18 go to clubs

Baran: Yeah, ***dey***'ve a fake ID or ***dey*** just look older, ***dey***'ve just facial hair and all ***dat***. I don't like keeping my facial hair.

Hulya: Why not?

Baran: I don't know. It's just when you touch it, it doesn't feel like soft, it's just all so rough so I just ***cu? i?*** all of

Hulya: It's just, you shave it all the time

Baran: All of, all of. I just leave my moustache

Hulya: Why do you keep that? It's very common

Baran: ***Dat***'s becos when we when we take it off we look proper young, we look too young, we keep it on average level, not too young, not too old, but if, I some of my friends they do razor to ***deir*** faces ***dey*** can actually get facial hair quicker, if I were to do, my ***brover*** said that if I was to do razor, mine'd be as bad as my dad's, ***dat***'s why I never do it.

Hulya: What's wrong with your dad's?

Baran: He's got too much facial hair, he has to shave every two days

Hulya: Okay, like my husband, it's not good, he hates it, I mean don't worry in the future, you'll also hate it

Baran: My ***brover*** hates it, when he was like 17, he had a little ***bi?*** of facial hair here and ***dere***, he always ***wan?ed dis*** bit, now he says he doesn't like ***i?***, he always cuts it off and now he only ***cu? i?*** off twice, now he's growing it back.

Hulya: What does your brother do? Is he a student or?

Baran: He was going college, he wanted to be a police, he applied but ***den dey*** didn't accept him cos of an incident before so then he ***wro?e*** a ***le?er*** saying ***dem***, telling, disagreeing with the answer so then he said he was gonna apply again but he just ***wai?ing*** to fill in this form and get an envelope and send ***i?*** off, and ***den*** see what happens after ***dat***, if he does get accepted as a police then he's gonna work as a police, if not he's just gonna find a job and work like ***dat***

Hulya: So, he's not gonna continue his education

Baran: Na

Hulya: Why not?

Baran: Cos all he wanted to do was just be a police officer and ***dat*** was the only dream and he said if ***dat*** dream doesn't come true then I'm not gonna

Hulya: What's he gonna do then?

Baran: ***Wha?ever***, ***dat***'s what he said anyway

Hulya: So we were talking about Turkey, when you go to Turkey where do you go, where do you visit?

Baran: Maraș

Hulya: Maraș only?

Baran: Not only. I go to Antep as well, ***dat***'s becos some of my family live in Antep and some live in Maras ***bu?*** I like going Maras more cos ***dat***'s where my mum's side's, I like seeing them more

Hulya: You like your mum's side more than your dad's side?

Baran: Yeah, ***dat***'s becos I don't really get along with my dad's side

Hulya: Why not?

Baran: ***Dey***'re not, ***dey***'re not in the same mentality as I'm (…)

Hulya: You remember the sport's day, there you were fasting, so do you fast?

Baran: Every year, yeah, it's a must, gotto be done

Hulya: I remember Hakan, he was not fasting

Baran: Yeah Hakan only done it, I think it was like 5 days or ***somefing*** like ***dat dis*** year and dat was when he was, when he's on holidays. Hakan ***wif de fing wif*** Hakan, he can't really stand staying hungry, so he always eats, although I'm like ***dat*** as well but it's gotto survive, ***ain't*** gonna kill you, ***ain't*** gonna change ***anyfing***, you just

Hulya: How long have you been regularly fasting?

Baran: 2 years (…)

Hulya: How did your parents come here? Nasıl buraya gelmeye karar vermişler? [how did they decide to move here (to the UK)?]

Baran: My dad came here to work and ***den*** once he started working, my mum was in Turkey so ***den*** my mum called my ***brover*** and my sister was still there and a year ***la?er*** my sister came.

Hulya: Who looked after your sister in Turkey?

Baran: My grandma, now she's dead. It's been, when did she die? It's been quite a long time, way too long, i think it was when I was like 7, it was when I was 7, yeah when I was 7, she died and I was 8 when my granddad died, her husband, and then my other granddad, my mum's mum, sorry my mum's dad, he died a year ago, it was in February, it's only my mum's mum ***dat*** survive.

Hulya: That's how life is, isn't it?

Baran: Yeah, it's just ***de*** way life goes, it's cycle

Hulya: Yeah, exactly, that's true, it's a cycle (…) So when you go to Turkey, do you find it difficult to understand people speaking?

Baran: Na, I actually get along with them so easily, it's cos hmmm the way

Hulya: Do they see you different?

Baran: No, some of my cousins know how to speak English, they learn it in school. Hmmm, they only learnt it recently, I think ***dis*** year, the year I went in 2010, they did not know any English so we used to play OKEY (rummikub) yeah, so me and my cousin cos we were both from England, we can speak to each other in English saying what we need and all ***dat***, we used to ***chea~~2~~*** while we was doing ***dat***.

Hulya: Because they did not understand what you guys were saying.

Baran: We was ***chea~~2~~ing***. For example, when I was playing, there was sets of the, what is called in English, decks, yeah, decks, there was decks and there was about 25 decks I think it was, but ***dey*** were all five so yeah so 5 stones of decks and I used to take 10, everyone was taking 5 and every time ***dey*** did that I still hold one in my left hand, put it down ***dere*** and do ***dat*** and bring it here and ***pu~~2~~ i~~2~~*** here and whenever I need the stone in my, my, what's it called, whenever I needed a stone, I used to check my hand and see which one I needed. If it was ***dere den*** I'd change it, if it weren't ***dere den*** I just leave it and just do nothing and ***wai~~2~~*** my turn to pick a card, ***fing***, pick a stone from the middle and see if ***dat*** was ***de*** one I needed, or just wait for the person to pass it over. If it was already passed over and I couldn't get again cos ***dere*** was two of each ***den*** I just leave ***da***t one out, change it, send ***dem*** over and try to build ***anover*** one

Hulya: Do you play it in London as well?

Baran: Yeah, of course. Evde var bi tane ama evde fazla hile olmuyo (we have got a set at home, but I cannot cheat much at home)

Hulya: Kim oynuyo? Sen, abin? (Who is playing? You, your brother?) The other two? Your mum and dad?

Baran: No. my sister knows how to play it, my mum, me and my ***brover***. When we was playing ***i~~2~~***, we was playing boys vs. girls. So it's me and my ***brover*** vs. my sister and my mum. ***Dey***'d always lose cos we already have our technique. Becos I couldn't, you ***kan***t look from the person ***dat***'s coming from your left cos you're gonna get the ***fing*** from ***dere***. You used to look, you used to look to the one on right, and when you've seen ***dat dey***'ve the card ***dat***, ***dey***'ve a stone ***dat*** the other needs, you shout, you just call, itch your nose ***somefing*** like ***dat***, yeah, so ***den*** you know ***dat*** you can wait for ***dat*** one, or if they're using ***i~~2~~***, ***den*** you'd just click your neck ***somefing*** like d***at***. ***D*a**t**'s what I do all the time.

Hulya: That's quite interesting. I also like playing it, but actually if you follow the stones, you can make sense of it as well. If the stones, you know we have to like follow, 1 red colour, so it's not on the table yet, either someone's using or it's there.

Baran: Yeah, basically if we was to play ***den***, I don't know who'd win cos you know my technique now (…)

Hulya: Have you ever been to Istanbul?

Baran: Once

Hulya: Did you like it?

Baran: I didn't really get to go around. I was just in the airport

Hulya: Just airport?

Baran: Yeah, so the time I went, I ***fink*** it was in 2006 when we was going Turkey, we had to fly to Istanbul and ***den*** get off ***de*** plane and go to different plane and fly from ***dere*** to Adana, and from Adana we needed to, we drove from Adana to Antep (…) Hopefully, hopefully, at the end of ***dis*** year, we're planning to go paintball ***wif*** all ***de*** boys

Hulya: Paintball?

Baran: Yeah, you go to … station, ***dey*** come pick you up cos it's in the countryside. They come pick you up, van, ***dey***'ve got café and all ***dat*** so you can buy your food or you can take away yourself. You go, you play your paintball and ***den dey*** bring you back to the train station and then you go (…) I was ***finking*** may be if I could shoot up in the air, the bullet can actually go down as a hill and hit someone, no it didn't go straight up, I actually, I actually couldn't get the aim right, it didn't go up ***de*** way actually I ***fought***.

Hulya: So you lost

Baran: Yeah, but ***dere***'s ***dis*** guy called Rick in my year, I shot him 7 times. He tried to cool up on me, I saw him so I turned around and just shot him 7 times. And he said he couldn't pull his back on to the walk cos it hurt. What was it? 160 FPS? ***somefing*** like ***da***t, it was quite powerful. I've got shot by Hakan on my shoulder. I shot Hakan bu[~~?~~] before he shot me, Onur was in my team and ***dey*** told me ***dat*** the enemy was behind me so as soon as I turned, I shot Onur in the neck cos I ***fought*** it was the enemy. He went out and me and Hakan was the only one in the game. And ***den*** as I turned around to shoot Onur, Hakan came and shot me on my shoulder and took me out. And ***den*** the game after ***dat***, the guy Abdullah from my year, me and Omar we was playing 'capture the flag', I took ***deir*** flag and we was running back and before I ***pu~~?~~*** the flag down, Hakan shot Abdullah and then I docked under some barricade kind of ***fing*** and ***den*** I moved a bit to the side so Hakan wouldn't know where I moved and ***den*** I've got, I shot Hakan on the knee first so he must have been down for his knee cos it hurting. I shot his shoulder and he must have dropped his gun. I've got shot on my face, I've got shot on my face ***bu~~?~~*** I had a mask. I had a mask so it was all cool. I had a mask, so I was just wiping all and carrying on playing. I saw an enemy, I saw an enemy, so I tried to peak out and see if he was still ***dere***, I straight banged to the face. He just got pihhh. It just like stinks, it's just like an instant pain. It doesn't, it doesn't, push your head back or anything, you just feel 'tak' like ***dat***. It doesn't push your head back. I've got shot on my leg as well. I've got shot on my ***figh***. I think ***dat*** day I've got shot like ***free*** times, I've got shot on my back, I've got shot on my leg and I've got shot on my bum.

Hulya: How many times can you be shot actually to

Baran: On the last game we played, if we was to get shot, we used to go. And then come back in and ***den*** the other game's just, if you get shot, you're off (…) both times we won cos of me. if I wasn't to shoot Hakan that time, when he shot Abdullah ***den*** hmmm if Hakan was to shoot me then we'd not lose the second game, I think yeah ***dey*** were the one who, we were playing 'capture the flag' so we had to grab ***deir*** flag again and I took ***deir*** flag, I took like 8 people ***den*** went around, got those couple of people in ***deir*** base, I ***fink*** 4 people, I think some girl, the girl called Betty she ***go~~?~~*** shot as well. I shot her neck as well cos I ***fought*** she was the enemy, me and Abdullah started shooting her and she told me that she shot neck ***dere*** same place, shot 3 people on the neck. I'm a snapper man

Hulya: Was it last year?

Baran: It was the end of the last year. It was Mr Smith was leaving school, decided to take us, he was taking it, he was taking this ***tu2or bu2 den aksed*** if I could go and all of ***dat***. Hakan let us know me, Onur, Gencay, Dera and a couple of people, we all went and had fun and came.

Hulya: Fun, it must be

Baran: Yeah, but ***de fing*** is, bullets gets restarted instantly, so you ***pu2 i2***, your bullets get restarted instantly especially if you're paranoid and you're like the only one, if you're the only one in your team and ***dis free oder*** and ***dat*** gets so paranoid, you get so paranoid

Hulya: Yeah you're surrounded

Baran: And ***dat*** time, and ***de*** second game I think, it was ***innit***? When we was playing 'death match'. Taylor got shot in his male organ, that game, we can, no longer, cos ***de*** guy was injured, he was literally on ***de*** floor for about 10 minutes crying. It was about 10 minutes. Alba, Alba, he bought special protection, he bought protection for his chest and back and ***dat*** was ***i2.*** We had the masks ***dere*** anyway (…) my gun was a bit weird cos my gun used to go either to right, left or straight, and sometimes it used to go straight and ***den*** down cos the power wasn't much. And I think ***dat*** was cos the gas wasn't much so it's the game after ***dat*** we ***pu2*** the gas up and ***dat*** was ***i2*** and I took out 8 people. So ***dat***'s quite good, it's a good experience, ***dat*** was the good experience from ***dere*** (…) We were meant to go Thorpe park in, we was gonna go ***dere*** at the end of the year, ***bu2***

Hulya: Have you ever been there?

Baran: Yeah, twice, ***dat***'s why we didn't wanna go cos ***dey*** wanted to take us ***dere free*** years in a row so we thought na it's just, we've been ***dere*** twice. You know ***dis*** fright night, at 31st of ***dis*** month,

Hulya: Yeah, yeah, you can stay there all night, right?

Baran: You can stay ***dere*** until like 12 o'clock. No one just stay ***dere***, It's so scary, ***dey*** come at you, the ***fing***, you know the sword ***fing***, ***dey*** come at you ***wif*** all ***dat***, ***dat***'s scary. I don't think I'll be able to stand ***dere*** cos when we, when we went ***dere*** first year, we went to 'still alive', ***dat*** was one of the new mazes. So we got in ***dere***, and ***dere***'s 6 rooms. And every room contains one scene of the saw movie, so you go in ***dere***, I got smacked on my leg with a chain cos ***de*** guy was doing his job, like he's doing a role, and ***den*** Taylor was in front of me, I picked up Taylor, ***frew*** it to ***de*** guy and ran up, so I couldn't stand it. And while I was on tidal wave, Hasan must have gone into the saw maze again and he must have go past ***dis*** time. I went on Youtube, and I checked out the maze, I couldn't stand it. I would never ever be able to stand it, ***dey*** come out of nowhere, ***deir*** face look so scary, I think cos I've quick reactions, I would probably end of punching them.

APPENDIX E: Example of transcription of naturally occurring audio data including a focus on linguistic features

Participants/setting: 16.10.2013. Mehmet (Kurdish, born in Turkey, mid-30s, working in the nearby barber shop), Didem (Kurdish descent, born in Turkey, 16, f), Aliye (Kurdish-Turkish descent, London born, 16, f), Gamze (Kurdish descent, London born, 16, f). It was a cold and rainy autumn day. The girls bought snacks from the nearby shop and started roaming around the school. Mehmet, who was standing in front of the barber shop, spotted the girls shivering and wet and invited them in immediately. The girls happily agreed to enter the shop and began chatting with Mehmet in an informal and flirty manner as they sometimes did. In this episode, the girls mocked Mehmet's blending of possessiveness in English and Turkish as well as his Turkish accent while speaking English; linguistic signs that mark his lack of English competency.

Transcription conventions:
Arial: English Speech
Century Gothic: Standard Turkish speech
Century Gothic (italic, bold): Non-standard Turkish speech

1. Mehmet: Ya öbür kızın ismi Gamze değil mi?
   <Isn't the other girl's name Gamze?>
2. Gamze: Allah'ım ya benim Gamze ((girls laughing out loud))
   <Oh my god, I AM Gamze>
3. Mehmet: Öbürünün ismi ne? {…}
   <What is the other one's name?>
4. Gamze ((protesting)): Ay, hayır, beni onla ***qarıştıramazsın***[148]
   <No way, you cannot confuse her with me>
5. Mehmet: Ozkan'n kız kardeşiyle gezen ***qız qim***?
   <Who is the girl hanging out with Ozkan's sister?>
6. Gamze: Oh My God!
7. Didem: Sema
8. Gamze: That's, no that's Nuray, Ozkan's kızkar=
   <Ozkan's sis[ter]>
9. Mehmet: =Ozkan'ın sister'sı[149] Nuray
   <Ozkan's sister is Nuray>
10. Aleyna ((mocking Mehmet's Turkish accent)): Sister'sı
    /sɪstɛr/
11. Gamze ((Turkish accent)): Sister'sı, brother'sı
    /sɪstɛr/ /brʌdɛr/
12. Aleyna ((Turkish accent)): Sister'sı
13. Gamze: ***Uncle'sı*** ((all the girls laughing))
    /ʌŋqəl/
14. Mehmet ((Turkish accent)): Sister'sı değil mi?
    <Isn't it 'sister'sı?>
15. Gamze: Mehmet ***Uncle'sı***
    /ʌŋqəl/
16. Mehmet ((embarrassed and non-standard Turkish)): Siz ne ***diiniz***[150]?
    <How you say it?>
17. Damla: Gamze, tamam sus

[148] As explained earlier, in the Turkish alphabet the 'q' letter does not exist. The uvular /q/ sound used in place of the standard velar /k/ is a non-standard feature of south-eastern/eastern varieties in Turkey, indicating the Kurdish background of the speaker (lines 4 and 5, see also subsection 6.2.2.4 for *K-backing*)

[149] Possessiveness in Standard English is achieved by adding an apostrophe + s ('s) to a noun, e.g. the girl's book. In Standard Turkish, on the other hand, both the possessed and possessor are always marked, e.g. kız-ın kitab-ı (the girl's book). In line 9, Mehmet juxtaposes the grammar structure of possessiveness in Standard Turkish and Standard English by adopting the suffixes from both languages in a grammatically incorrect way; a linguistic act which strongly signifies his lack of English competency.

[150] The standard version of '*siz ne diiniz?*' (how you say it?) in Turkish is '*siz nasıl dersiniz [söylersiniz]?*' (how do you say it?).

<Gamze, that's it, shush>

18. Gamze: Tamam, niye, ne var ki şeyde?
<OKAY, why? what's wrong?>

APPENDIX F: Hackney Youth – Parents' Job

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Mother's Job	Father's Job
Gamze	F	16	Kurdish	Housewife	Unemployed (health reasons)
Aliye	F	16	Kurdish-Turkish	Housewife	Unemployed
Didem	F	16	Kurdish	Single mother (housewife)	Does not see her father
Baran	M	16	Kurdish	Domestic cleaner	Runs a shop
Hasan	M	16	Kurdish	Housewife	-
Hilay	F	16	Turkish	Housewife	Mechanic
Gencay	M	16	Turkish	Single mother (housewife)	
Zirav	F	16	Kurdish	Housewife	Unemployed (was in Turkey)
Sema	F	16	Turkish	Housewife	Unemployed (health reasons)
Nuray	F	16	Turkish	Housewife	Runs a shop
Shanley	F	16	Turkish-Irish	Housewife	Factory worker
Ozan	M	16	Kurdish	Housewife	Runs a restaurant
Ufuk	M	16	Kurdish	Housewife	Run a kebab shop

APPENDIX G: Other Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity
Rahime	F	16	Turkish-Cypriot
Ozan	M	16	Kurdish
Taylor	M	16	Black Caribbean
Zahid	M	16	Indian
Yusuf	M	16	Algerian
Musa	M	16	Indian-Irish
Hamid	M	16	Indian
Berkay	M	16	Kurdish
Metin	M	16	Turkish
Emma	F	16	White Anglo
Rick	M	16	Black Caribbean
Onur	M	16	Kurdish
Dera	M	16	Indian
Mr John	M	mid 40s	Black Caribbean (science teacher)
Miss Sari	F	late 30s	Turkish descent (Turkish teacher)
Mr Knight	M	early 40s	White British (construction teacher)
Mr Hamit	M	late 40s	Kurdish (teaching assis.t)
Ricky	M	early 30s	Black Caribbean (teaching assist.)
Mehmet	M	mid 30s	Kurdish (working in barber shop)